RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

R 1681. Wt. 582. a

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS

OF

EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.,

VOL. II.

I.—COMMENDATIO LAMENTABILIS IN TRANSITU MAGNI REGIS EDWARDI.

II.—GESTA EDWARDI DE CARNARVAN AUCTORE CANONICO BRIDLINGTONIENSI.

III.—MONACHI CUJUSDAM MALMESBERIENSIS VITA EDWARDI II.

IV.—VITA ET MORS EDWARDI II. CONSCRIPTA A THOMA DE LA MOORE.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

Contents of the volume.

THE present volume contains four works, of various interest and importance. On each of them certain literary questions arise, which could scarcely be answered without more elaborate investigation than is now possible. In the following account of the manuscripts used, and of the history of each work so far as it is accessible, I shall dispatch very briefly those points on which no matter of importance is found to turn, or which are of interest only in relation to other works in connexion with which, when the time comes, they may receive further examination. I shall, in treating of those points by which further research may be usefully stimulated, go into somewhat more lengthy detail. Questions, however, which arise in reference to the authorship of the "Flores Historiarum" with which the materials now before us, as was the case also in the first volume of this collection, may bring us in contact, I shall abstain from discussing, and leave to the editor of the future.

I. "*Commendatio Lamentabilis.*"

The first article in this volume is the "Commendatio "lamentabilis," a sort of mortuary Éloge or funeral sermon on the death of Edward I.; which seems, from the number of manuscripts in which it occurs, to have enjoyed a certain amount of popularity in the early years of the reign of his son. This work is, I believe, now printed for the first time; but it is by no means an unknown piece, having been cited by Sharon Turner

in his History of England,[1] and also by Dr. Pauli in his Geschichte von England,[2] and having been noticed by other earlier historians and bibliographers without any minute description.

MSS. of the *Commendatio.*

The text, as it now appears, is derived from five good manuscripts, all of them nearly coinciding in date with the original composition. It probably occurs, however, in several later compilations, one at least of which has come under my knowledge, but, so far as I can ascertain, with no really important variations. I cannot feel at all sure that any of the five manuscripts used can be regarded as original, although all are early copies; nor does any of them reproduce the original so closely as not to admit occasionally a very distinct emendation from one or more of the others. The following account of these manuscripts must not therefore be regarded as arranged according to their comparative value, as to which very little difference exists.

MS. Cotton Nero D. 2

(1.) In the Cotton MS., Nero D. 2,[3] the great and most important collection of annals known as the *Annales Roffenses*, the *Commendatio lamentabilis* is inserted at the end of the year 1306. The preceding portion of these annals is a copy of the *Flores Historiarum* for the several years, the particular events which concerned the history of Rochester being inserted in their proper places. Henry Wharton, in the first volume of the Anglia Sacra, printed from this manuscript the Rochester entries only, omitting the matter derived from the *Flores*. The derived matter ends in this, as in other kindred compilations, with the word *postulati*, line 53 of page 457 of the Frankfurt edition of Matthew of Westminster; then, in the original hand and apparently as a part of the original design, occurs, finely rubricated,

[1] Edition of 1853; vol. i. pp. 538, 539.

[2] Vol. iv. pp. 179, 180.

[3] See Sir T. D. Hardy, Catalogue, &c., iii. 289.

the title *Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi quarti secundum Johannem.* To this is added in a small hand of at least a century later "de "Londonia," and then in a modern hand "secundum "MSS. in Officio Heraldorum." The text following has been carefully collated and the variations noted in the following pages. Between the word *postulati* and the beginning of the Commendatio occur, in the form of a note crowded in at the foot of the page, some short particulars of the history of the year 1307. The following account is given of the death of Edward:— **Title in the Cotton MS.**

"Anno sub eodem, heu proth dolor! mense Julii "vii^{o} die mensis, vi^{a} feria, hora ix^{a}, in festo Trans- "lationis sancti Thomæ martiris, Christianissimus rex "Angliæ Edwardus, cum vixisset annis lxviii., diebus "xx. et uno, anno regni sui xxxv^{o} sed non pleno, "felici morte resolutus, migravit ad Christum. Se- "pultus est apud Westmonasterium more regio decen- "tissime juxta sanctum Edwardum ad patris sui "capud, xxvii^{o} die mensis Octobris. De rege sic in "Scotia defuncto die et hora prædictis, per visionem "Roberto de Wynchelse archiepiscopo, Burdegalæ tunc "moranti, miraculose ostensum fuit, qui suis præcepit "ut pro rege Angliæ Edwardo orarent, et ipsemet "pro eodem missam celebrare vellet, quod quoque "factum est." **Note on the death of Edward I.**

The *Commendatio* fills folios 199–203 of the MS. and is followed by a continuation to the year 1377, taken, according to a note of archbishop Parker's, from the Polychronicon, and annotated in the margin in a hand which Sir Frederick Madden ascribes to Polydore Vergil, whose description of the king's personal appearance is obviously drawn from the *Commendatio*.[1] **Known to Polydore Vergil.**

[1] "Statura fuit eminenti, colore "subnigro, corpore valido ac mi- "nime pingui, id quod continua "exercitatione vitavit; facie ve- "nusta, oculis subnigris, qui, dum "ira inflammabatur, subito sub- "rubri efficiebantur, ac inde ignem "emittere videbantur, capillo nigro

MS. Hatton, 53. (2.) The Bodleian MS. Hatton 53, is a copy of the *Flores*, beginning with the usual prologue, "Temporum "summam," and ending with the word *postulati;* after which follows, on folio 235, the title of the *Commendatio* in the same form as that of the Cotton MS., "Commen-"datio lamentabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi "quarti secundum Johannem." This MS. ends also, like the Cotton text, with the words "pius Deus" (p. 21 below), omitting the prayer for the writer. The penmanship is the same as that of the rest of the volume, early in the fourteenth century.

MS. Laud, 572. (3.) The Bodleian MS. Laud 572, also a copy of the *Flores*, is imperfect, several folios having been lost between the annal for 1296 and the prologue of the *Commendatio*. The portion of the text preserved begins with "illustris rex Anglorum" (page 4, line 16), and thus furnishes us with no copy of the title; it ends with the words "pius Deus." The hand is a fine, somewhat cursive, hand of the period, and is not the same as that in which the preceding pages are written.

Heralds' College MS., 20. (4.) The MS. of the College of Arms, Arundel 20, is commonly known as the Chronicle of John of London. It is really a short Canterbury Chronicle, the latter portion of which, down to 1306, is derived from the *Flores;* and in this likewise the *Commendatio* follows the word "postulati." The contents of the volume are described by Mr. Black in his Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in Heralds' College,[1] and by Sir T. Duffus Hardy, in the Catalogue of Materials, vol. iii. pp. 362, 363.

"ac crispo. Valetudine usus est "satis prospera; animo magno qui "in rebus adversis nunquam de-"fecit; ingenio præclaro, cuicun-"que enim rei operam dabat, eam "facile imbibebat; prudentia sum-"ma, religionis studiosissimus, in-"solentiæ sacerdotum inimicus ac-"errimus . . . Amicitiam constan-"tissime servabat; contra quos "semel oderat non facile deinceps "in gratiam recipiebat. Dum ali-"quid vacui temporis habebat, "plurimum in venationis erat." Pol. Verg. Hist. Angl. (ed. Lugd.), pp. 443, 444.

[1] Catalogue of the Arundel MSS. in the College of Arms, pp. 28, 29.

The Commendatio begins, in the same hand as the rest of the Chronicle, on folio 82 vo, "Commendatio lamen-"tabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi quarti secun-"dum Johannem de London," and closes with the prayer for the writer, "Non nobis Domine, sed nomini "Tuo da gloriam et Johanni de London peccatorum "veniam." Prayer for the author.

(5.) The Lambeth MS. 419 [1] is a compilation of annals, apparently made by a monk of S. Augustine's, Canterbury. The *Commendatio* occurs in it in the same place, at the close of the year 1306, but is represented as addressed, not to queen Margaret, but to the abbot of S. Augustine's. It is not a good copy, but contains some curious variations and has no mention of "John" as the author. MS. Lambeth, 419.

The Trinity College Cambridge MS. R. 5. 41, which was largely used in the preparation of the second volume of the works of Gervase,[2] affords another and considerably later copy. In this also the *Commendatio* follows the word "postulati," and comes between the annal of 1306 and that of 1307. The rest of the matter of this MS. differs considerably from that of the Heralds' College MS., but the two certainly contain much common material, and both proceeded from Christ Church, Canterbury. Any editor of the Heralds' College MS. will have to collate it carefully with the Trinity MS. Trinity College MS.

These are all the manuscripts in which I have seen the *Commendatio*, but it is very probable that it occurs in other compilations from and reproductions of the *Flores*.

That the *Commendatio* was written by a person named John may be regarded as proved by the evidence of three of the manuscripts; and that he bore the desig- Name of the author.

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[1] Hardy, Catalogue, &c. iii. 370, 371.

[2] Gervase, vol. ii., pref., p. x.; Hardy, Catalogue, &c. iii. 363; Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 436.

Question of authorship.

nation of John of London seems certain from the title and concluding sentence as given in the manuscript of the College of Arms. A less distinctive appellation could scarcely have been invented, and the question of the writer's identity might fairly be left in the obscurity which seems almost intentional, were it not that, on the strength of this title, other literary work has been ascribed to John of London, and the writer of the *Commendatio* has been identified with a somewhat better known historian of the time. The authorship of the whole of the Heralds' College manuscript has been assigned to John of London, and, owing to its affinity in matter, the Trinity MS. above referred to has been conjecturally ascribed to him. I have been unable to find in either manuscript any evidence that would lead to such a conclusion. Of course, when the two manuscripts come to be edited, an exact analysis of their contents will be required to illustrate the authorship, and until that is done the question cannot be decided; but, so far as now appears, there is no more reason to connect the compilation of those two works with John of London than there is to suppose him to have been the editor of the *Annales Roffenses* or of the *Flores Historiarum*. That he was a monk of S. Alban's[1] was inferred from the occurrence of the Commendatio in S. Alban's MSS.; that he was a monk of Christ Church from its occurrence in the Heralds' College manuscript;[2] and that he was a monk of S Augustine's from its occurrence in the Lambeth MS.[3] A more plausible conjecture makes him a monk of Westminster and identifies him with John Bever. This identification recommended itself to Sir Thomas D. Hardy, who in the third volume of the Catalogue of Materials printed a document from which he infers

John of London.

Difficulty of identifying him.

Was he John Bever.

[1] See Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 282.
[2] See Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 362.
[3] Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 436; Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 371.

that John Bever was a monk of Westminster and was also known as John of London.[1]

John Bever's chronicle.

John Bever is known as the compiler of a chronicle which is in the Harleian Collection, No. 641, and which was transcribed by Hearne in a volume now in the Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson B. 185. Hearne believed it to contain the material of the burnt MS. Vitellius E. 17. The chronicle itself is of no great importance, and the latter pages of it are simply a reproduction of the *Flores*. Curiously enough, it ends with the word "postulati," but does not contain the "Commendatio." It is of course possible that other copies may have comprised this also, and in that case there would be strong reason to accept Sir Thomas Hardy's conclusion. But this also is a point on which we may wait for further evidence. There is nothing in the *Commendatio* itself to suggest that it was the work of a monk, or to connect it with Westminster.

Another John of London.

Another John of London was in 1312 a minor canon of S. Paul's and custos of the new fabric.[2] Possibly he drew the sketch of the cathedral for the Annales Paulini. A presumption may arise that the authorship of those Annals or continuation of the *Flores* may belong to the minor canon; but such mere conjectures are too easily multiplied. It is by no means unlikely that he was the real John of London.

Character of the *Commendatio Lamentabilis*.

The tract itself, as a mere eulogium on the great king, has no particular merit of its own. Its language is not eloquent or even correct; its illustrations are hackneyed and threadbare; it shows no special reading and no very distinct idealising of character. But it is interesting in some of its details, and has a special importance as showing that the points in the character and policy of Edward I. which have recommended themselves most strongly to the admiration of posterity

[1] Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 282, 309.

[2] Charters of S. Paul's, Nos. 518 and 1937; cf. Ann. Paul., vol. i. pp. 276, 277.

were not left out of sight among the men of his own days, even when they were obnoxious to more direct criticism, provoked strong hostility, and to all appearance were far ahead of the ideas of the time.

Date of composition.

The *Commendatio* must have been written so soon after the death of Edward I. as not to bear traces even of the earliest difficulties which beset his unfortunate son.

Description of Edward's person and character.

This would have made the description of the king's personal appearance, with which the work begins,[1] very valuable, if the writer had not been too modest to write it in his own words. Instead of doing this, he adopts and adapts the language in which Peter of Blois described Henry II., and, whilst definitely marking the points in which the two great kings differed, insensibly draws us to the conclusion that in character at least they had very much in common.

Comparison of Edward I. with Henry II., in person;

Henry was of middle height, Edward was very tall, a head taller than the generality of his subjects. Henry had a small nose, Edward a long one; Henry was ruddy, red haired, and blue eyed; Edward had black and curly hair, and his eyes were probably dark also, although both in repose and in excitement they recalled the expression of his great ancestor's. Henry grew fat in his advancing years, Edward until his last illness was as straight as a palm tree and as active as a boy, and he retained as long as he lived both his teeth and his eyesight unimpaired. Both had round heads and were strongly made men, but the advantage in point of beauty is clearly on the side of Edward. Henry's figure strikes us as business-like and common-place beside that of his great-grandson. In character they had many features alike; both were fond of hunting;

and character.

both modest and simple in dress, although magnificent when occasion warranted; both were indefatigable in their movements, able and original legislators, clever judges of causes, acute investigators of questions, elo-

[1] Page 4.

quent, cautious, and patient. Both were faithful in friendship and inexorable in hostility. Both, it may be added, were captious in controversy, and prone to the use of that sort of diplomacy which sacrifices words to sense and occasionally sense to words. In personal morality, piety, and truthfulness Edward was far above Henry. Considering the characters of the three kings that came between, we do not wonder that a parallel between these two suggested itself instinctively to our author. He does not, however, proceed to draw any analogy between the great organiser and the great definer of our national mechanism. If he had done so, we might have suspected him of drawing a forced parallel, and have considered the tract, as an illustration of current opinion, less important than it really is. It will be as well to note here some of the points in which we find Edward's distinctive policy clearly apprehended.

Common faults.

View of the author.

After describing the king's person and character, the writer proceeds with a series of lamentations placed in the mouths respectively of the pope, of the kings of Christendom, of the royal widow, to whom the *Commendatio* is dedicated, of the bishops, of the earls and barons, of the body of knights, of the clerks, and of the laymen of England. The single point in the pope's speech is Edward's self-sacrifice and devotion to the Crusade.[1] The kings dilate on his conquest of Wales and Scotland and on his recovery to the crown of the earldoms of Norfolk and Cornwall, both sufficiently definite marks of his political ambition.[2] In the mouth of queen Margaret, with no particular appropriateness, but clearly expressed, are put the praises of the king as one who, for the peace of the people, united parliaments, confirmed treaties, made alliances with foreign nations, and by his renown in battle inspired foreign

Abstract of the *Commendatio.*

Encomium by the pope, the kings of Christendom, and the queen.

[1] Page 7.

[2] Pp. 8, 9.

Praises of the bishops; princes with terror.[1] The bishops praise him for his zeal in abasing the proud and his sympathy with the oppressed; his justice and moderation in the exercise of his rights over church property—a point which in the mouth of a monk would scarcely be applied to the author of the statute *De religiosis*;—and his mildness in dealing with his defeated enemies in Scotland;—a point again which marks the distinction drawn between the Scottish enemies whom like Balliol he treated as belligerents, and the later prisoners who like Wallace met the fate of rebels.[2] The bishops compare him as a conqueror with David, and recal in the same connexion the events of his baptism, which was performed by the legate Otto, and his confirmation by S. Edmund, a second Samuel. The earls and barons continue the scriptural illustration, and draw a parallel with Solomon, to the advantage of Edward, who, not having a David for his father, had to earn his own glories. But, although in his legislation and in his felicity he resembles Solomon, his great glory is in the measures which he took for the defence of his country; his great expenditure on castles and fortifications, his prowess in tournaments, the splendour of his alms and gifts to shrines, his championship of the liberties of the church, and his laying out of parks and fisheries.[3] The collocation of these boons seems to us somewhat grotesque, but there can be no doubt that in the mind of a healthily constituted baron of the age the picture is true and harmonious. The panegyric of the knights follows; they enumerate among the exploits of their patron the capture of Berwick, which was a parallel with, or rather superior to, that of Jericho; the banishment of the Jews, the ten years war with France, the recovery of Gascony, and the rescue of his father, that holy Daniel,

(Margin notes: "of the earls and barons;" beside "second Samuel"; "of the knights." beside "nious.")

[1] Pp. 9, 10.
[2] Pp. 10–12.
[3] Pp. 12–14.

from the den of lions represented by Simon de Montfort.[1] The heroes with whom he is compared are now Brutus, Arthur, Edgar, Richard I., and Alexander the Great; but, as he more than fulfilled the type of the first three heroes in uniting his people, he had greatly the advantage of Richard and Alexander in the length of his reign, and in his escape from the assassins at Acre and the archers at Stirling. But he was peculiarly the patron of knighthood, and the writer preserves an anecdote of his bounty to the knightly order which shows that down to the end of his reign he maintained the character which he had assumed in the troubles of his father's reign as the spokesman of the Bachelors of England.[2] The encomium of the clergy follows, and is devoted curiously, as it would seem, to a parallel between the king's last march against the Scots and the advance of Saul on Mount Gilboa, the point being that dwelt on by Josephus, from whom a long extract is inserted, that both kings knew that they were marching to their death: yet again Edward is the gainer; "he did not "fall before the Philistines like Saul rejected by the "Lord, nor did the Amalekite take away his crown, "nor at the setting of his star did his army experience "defeat, but victory; for in his death, like Samson, "he puts the living to death, nor when dead could he "be buried until all but one of his betrayers were "brought to naught."[3] The concluding words of this section read almost as if they might have been spoken at the funeral. The last lamentation was that of the laymen: they enlarge chiefly on the king's perils, which, like Saint Paul's, were various and countless; his devotion to the saints, especially the Confessor; the peace which the land enjoyed in his time; and the sympathy which he had with his people, bearing their griefs and carrying their sorrows. He is compared in this with S. Martin,

Comparison with ancient heroes.

Encomium by the clergy.

Lamentation by the laity.

[1] Pp. 14–16.
[2] Page 16.
[3] Pp. 16–18.

whose words of pious submission are put in his mouth.

Prayer of Edward I.

He is an aged king, and his prayer is this: "Lord, if I "am still needful for thy people, I refuse not to undergo "travail for them; and if thou wilt spare the age, it is "good for me. Behold, I, thy unprofitable servant, "hard upon three score years and ten, and in labour "from my youth upwards, have devoted myself wholly "to thee. And lo! the new tyrant of Scotland invades "thy people. Do thou then guard those for whom I "fear: thy will be done."[1]

Real importance of the tract.

Notwithstanding the threadbare texture of the discourse, its far-fetched parallels, and somewhat artificial ejaculations, there is in it an insight into the historical position of Edward, and an appreciation of his real devotion to his royal work, which places the *Commendatio* far above the common run of panegyrics. I have, in the abstract just given, not stopped to point out each assertion of merit which later ages have confirmed, but a careful reading will show that there is scarcely a characteristic feature of the king and his reign that is not in one way or another touched upon for praise. There need be no doubt that the lamentation was for the most part sincere and well deserved, or that it expressed the feeling of intelligent Englishmen even before their sense of loss had been stimulated by experience of the waywardness, infatuation, and incapacity of Edward of Carnarvon.

II. The *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan.*

II. The second article in this volume is the short chronicle of Edward II., written by a canon of the Augustinian priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire, to which is added a compilation of annals of the reign of Edward III., embellished with extracts from the poetical prophecies of a worthy of the same house, John of Bridlington. The two may be considered as a part of the same work, although it is not necessary to suppose them

[1] Page 20.

to have been the work of one hand. The whole is now printed for the first time. The text is derived from two transcripts made in the seventeenth century from an original which has not been identified, and from an ancient but imperfect copy not far removed in date from the time which it describes. The more ancient copy demands the first notice.

Printed from transcripts.

This is contained in a Bodleian manuscript, numbered Bodl. 101: a small quarto of the fourteenth century, composed of several short chronicles and historical memoranda, of which the Bridlington memoir is far the most valuable. Its contents are briefly as follows: folios 1–16 contain a short chronicle from the creation to the year 1377, followed by the legend of the dedication of Westminster, and containing no memoranda of any special importance. On the 18th folio begins a chronicle list of the kings of England to the death of Edward I., intended as a sort of introduction to the longer tract on Edward II. which follows. This is noticed by Sir T. Duffus Hardy in the Catalogue of Materials, vol. iii., p. 395, but without comment, for which it affords no ground. It fills only a page and a half, and on the lower half of folio 18vo. begins the Preface to the *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan*. The MS. is a poor one, in an indifferent hand of the latter part of the century, slightly rubricated and written in single column, and from thirty to thirty-six lines in the page. It contains the full text of the work down to the year 1321, including the matter of pages 25 to 65 of the present edition, and breaking off suddenly with the word *subsequentes*, indicating that the transcriber stayed his hand before beginning to copy out the process against the Despensers. Instead of continuing it he begins a series of notes on the wars of England with France and Scotland, starting with the coronation of Edward I. and running on in a very unconnected way to the battle of Poictiers and the death of King John of France.

The Bodleian MS. 101.

Its varied contents.

The copy of the *Gesta*.

Imperfect.

Historical materials in the MS. Bodl. 101.

The notes may have been derived from a Chronicle of Merton, a religious house which is mentioned in one of them, but they are of no value, and, except for the fact that they are written by the same scribe, have no connexion with the work that precedes them. They extend to folio 35 of the MS.

Another brief chronicle of the scantiest character, from the creation to the capture of Calais, fills the next twenty leaves, folios 36–56; written in an earlier and much better hand than the rest of the volume. A regal Chronicle of Britain down to the reign of Richard II. occupies folios 57–69, and a list of the dukes of Normandy, on a spare leaf, completes the contents of the volume. It has no history, and contains nothing that suggests a conjecture as to its former owners. The text of the "Gesta Edwardi," so far as it goes, agrees exactly with that of the two transcripts, and, whilst itself gathering confirmation from them, affords a sufficient presumption of their general accuracy.

The transcript in MS. Harl. 688, once Stillingfleet's.

The best known of the transcripts is contained in the Harleian MS. 688, a volume once the property of bishop Stillingfleet, for whom in all probability the copy was made. The volume includes also a transcript of the Dialogus de Scaccario, and of the Chronicle ascribed to John of Wallingford. The transcript of the *Gesta Edwardi* begins on fol. 252, and is entitled "Gesta Regis "Edwardi II. per Monachum de Bridlington;" on fol. 311 begins the second part, with the title "Conti-"nuatio Nicholai Trivetti per quendam monachum de "Bridlington." Unfortunately the volume contains no indication of the home of the original MS., and I have not succeeded in finding any notice of the occasion on which the copy was made. It is briefly noticed in the Catalogue of Materials, vol. iii., p. 396.

The transcript at Trinity College, Cambridge.

The other transcript is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, numbered O. 5.37. This is a volume of Gale's transcripts, and the copy of the Bridlington

book which it contains was, I think, made by the same person who worked for Stillingfleet. There are some slight variations, but not such as imply more than two successive readings by the same eye. The Trinity MS. however omits the prologue and arranges the minute jottings, with which the work ends, in somewhat different order, as if in the original they had been scattered on flyleaves or were stray notes.[1] This transcript does contain a note of the source from which it is derived, and therefore may be supposed to have been re-copied for Stillingfleet, although on such a supposition it is hard to say how the prologue disappeared.

A volume of Gale's transcripts.

The first article in the volume is thus described: "Continuatio Chronici Nicholai Trivetti per monachum "de Bridlington ex codice Lumleyano;" the work to which this title is prefixed is, however, simply Trivet's Annals of Edward I., beginning "Edwardus rex Anglo- "rum," and ending "dies viginti," as on pages 281 and 414 of Mr. Hog's edition of Trivet.—The first page contains the following notes: (1.) "Appendix ad Chronicon "Nich. Trivett, forte per monachum de Bridlington, ex "codice olim Lumliano, Anno 1681." (2.) "Bibl. Cott. "Faust. B. 9.[2] cum Crono. Mailr.[3]; aliud exemplar in "Coll. Gresham cum Johanne Pyke."[4] (3.) "Aliud chro- "nicon monasterii de Bridlington laudatur in compila- "tione de jure regis Angliæ ad regnum Scotiæ,[5] ubi "quædam adferuntur de tempore regis Jo." (4.) This "copy was taken from the booke of Mr. Baskervile (or "Basket *note*) as, I think, belonging to the Fine Office "in the Temple."

Mr. Baskerville.

We may, I think, infer from these notes that the Bridlington book was transcribed from a volume which

[1] Below, pp. 148–151.

[2] See Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 285, 286.

[3] Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 177.

[4] MS. Arundel, 220, in the British Museum. See Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 295, 376.

[5] See Palgrave, Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland, i. 60–67, 134.

Light on the history of the MS.

contained also that part of the Annals of Trivet which described the reign of Edward I.; and that the MS. was known to have belonged to Lord Lumley, whilst at the time of transcription it was the property of Mr. Baskerville. At the end of the copy of Trivet is a note, "Desinit hic Codex Arundelianus in Bibl. Gresh., 1688;" showing that that volume had been collated. Then follows the work before us with the title "Incipiunt "Gesta Edwardi regis Angliæ dicti de Carnarvon filii "Edwardi boni regis." The volume contains further the copy of Nennius, prepared for the edition in Gale's Scriptores, and a few notes from the Rolls of Parliament of the 21 Richard II.

The original MS. not now traceable.

After a long and careful inquiry I have failed to ascertain anything more about the fate of the manuscript from which the two transcripts were made. Lord Lumley's collection was, as is well known, purchased by James I., and is still in the Royal Library, which forms part of the British Museum. The volume in question, if it were ever a part of the Royal Library, must have strayed from it before the Restoration, and somehow have come into Mr. Baskerville's hands. But who was Mr. Baskerville? The eccentric squire of Bayworth, near Sunningwell, in Berkshire, Thomas Baskerville, "who was commonly styled the king of Jerusalem,"[1] was a collector of manuscripts, and in the year 1678 had books and manuscripts which were, in Hearne's opinion, of very good value and great curiosity.[2] These, on his demise, descended to a still more eccentric son, and on his death were sold, July 5, 1721, to Mr. Murray, of Sacomb, in Hertfordshire. Hearne was anxious to buy them, but Mr. Giles, a farrier of Oxford, who was young Baskerville's executor, was determined that he should not; Mr. Murray got them for twenty

Fate of Mr. Baskerville's books.

[1] Reliquiæ Hearnianæ, vol. ii. 122, 127, 318; vol iii. 268.

[2] Hearne's MS. Diaries, vol. cxix. 50.

pounds,[1] and among them a copy of Henry VIII.'s Bible printed in 1541. The disappointed antiquary suspected that all were not sold, but of any missing volumes nothing can now be discovered. Mr. Murray was a friend of Hearne's, and, had any such manuscript as the one in question come into his hands, we might have found some notice of it in the diaries of his correspondent. This is not the case. Mr. Murray's library was sold by Corbett, in May 1749, and there is a printed catalogue of its contents annotated by Dr. Rawlinson, who bought largely at the sale. But no article described in the catalogue can be identified with the lost volume. And indeed it is not quite certain that Mr. Baskerville "belonging to the Fine Office in the Temple" can be identified with Mr. Baskerville of Bayworth. The fragments of the collections of the "king of Jerusalem" now among the Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian do,[2] however, by their antiquarian character, somewhat favour the supposition. Further research, as the more remote receptacles of old and private collections are ransacked, may one day bring again to light this and the still more valuable manuscript from which the third work included in the present volume is derived.

Mr. Murray's library.

Passing on from the external history to the contents of the treatise before us, we find no difficulty in determining the home and position of its author or authors. It purports to be the work of a brother of the religious house established at Bridlington, in Yorkshire. This was a house of Augustinian canons, and the proper designation of the writer accordingly is not monk but canon. Bridlington priory was founded early in the 12th century by Walter of Gant, and is connected with

The *Gesta* written at Bridlington.

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[1] Hearne's MS. Diaries, vol. xci. 213; cf. xci. 37, 69, 148.

[2] See Reliquiæ Hearnianæ, iii. 318; and the account of one of them given by Dr. Bliss in his edition of Antony Wood's Diary, for the Ecclesiastical History Society.

the literary history of England through several early names. William of Newburgh, also an Augustinian canon, and the most philosophic historian of the twelfth century was, according to ancient testimony, a native of Bridlington,[1] although he does not seem to have been connected, except by community of profession, with the priory. The canons possessed a book of chronicles sufficiently authoritative to be cited as confirming the claims made by Edward I. on Scotland. This book may not improbably have been a copy of Hoveden's Chronicle annotated and continued, or even of the earlier compilation used by Hoveden and continued in the Gesta Regis Henrici. It went down to the year 1209, and possibly stopped there.[2] A third historic name connected with Bridlington is Peter Langtoft, a canon of the priory, whose work, written in French, contains the poetical history of England, or rather Britain, from the days of Brutus to the death of Edward I. There can be no doubt that the poem of Peter Langtoft was known to the author of the work before us.

Literary tradition at Bridlington.

Bridlington priory possessed however two books of more special importance in relation to this writer; a register of public documents entitled "*Incidentia Chronicorum*," and a volume of prophecies ascribed to John of Bridlington, which somehow acquired a reputation high enough to command the services of a commentator. The "*Incidentia Chronicorum*" was probably an ancient repertory of documents, charters, treaties, letters of prelates and similar records, and no inference as to the date of the writer could be drawn from the citations made from it.[3] The

The *Incidentia Chronicorum.*

[1] Leland, De Scriptoribus, p. 203; Bale, Scriptores (ed. 1559), p. 247.

[2] See above, p. xxi; and Palgrave, Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 60–67, 134.

[3] See below, pp. 31, 35, 36, 40, 53, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85; these references all occur in the first portion of the Gesta, and show that the "Incidentia Chronicorum" contained the documents touching the suppression of the Templars, the appointment of the Ordainers, the

The Book of Prophecies.

book of prophecies on the other hand ought to be referred to a certain date, and that, judging from the character of the predictions, must have been between 1361 and 1372. The earl of Hereford, to whom the commentary ascribed to John of Erghome is dedicated, died in 1372; the prophecies cease to have that relevancy, which belongs to predictions made after the event, soon after 1361. The whole work with its commentary has been published in the present series under the editorship of Mr. Thomas Wright, who did not hesitate to declare his belief that both prophecies and commentary were the work of one hand, and that the name of John of Bridlington was only borrowed to conceal the fraud.[1] It is not necessary here to criticise this theory, or to suggest a new one, as, for instance, that the prophecies may have been the produce of a series of years of visions. Bale believed John of Bridlington to have been a real person, gives the day of his death Oct. 10, 1379,[2] and adds that he was canonised; identifying him in fact with the sub-prior or prior of the house whose reported posthumous miracles called for an investigation at the hands of archbishop Neville a few years later.[3] The identification can hardly hold good; for, supposing even that the commentary and prophecies were forged by the same hand, it is unlikely that they

John of Bridlington.

Ordinances; the papal bulls against the Scots; the proceedings against the Despensers, against the rebels taken after the battle of Boroughbridge, and Sir Andrew Harcla; the truce of 1323, and the portent in Provence (p. 85). In the second portion the "Incidentia" is referred to at p. 99, for queen Johanna's marriage treaty, and for the treaty with the Scots in 1335, p. 124, but evidently the documents given in full are taken from the same compilation.

[1] *Political Songs and Poems relating to English History* during the reign of Edward III., vol. i. pref. pp. xxviii. sq. 123.

[2] Bale, Scriptores, p. 487.

[3] Burton, Monasticon Eboracense, p. 249. This was in 1386. The letter of the Vicar-General to the Commissioners for taking evidence in the case is printed by Mr. Raine, who calls the prior John of Thwenge; Letters from Northern Registers, pp. 420, 421.

The *Gesta* drawn up after the publication of the prophecies.

would be falsely ascribed to a well-known and dignified ecclesiastic who was still living; and on the theory of a double authorship it is still more improbable. The date however is scarcely affected by these considerations. It is clear that when the Chronicle before us received its present shape a great part of the prophecies was already in circulation and received in the priory as a credit to the scholarship and perhaps also to the sanctity of its members. The Chronicle can scarcely be said to have received its present shape before the year 1377, under which year the death of Edward III. and the succession of Richard II. are recorded.[1] Although, as will be seen directly, the substantive interest of the narrative ends in 1339 [2] and the later insertions are all incidental jottings with no method or connexion, it is still possible that the original from which our two transcripts were taken was a late copy, made between 1361 or 1372 and 1377, and embellished by the copyist with the extracts from the prophecies of which the priory, whether rightfully or wrongfully, was already proud. On any theory, however, except that of the genuineness and authenticity of the prophecies, the insertion of these curious relics of superstition or imposture must have taken place after the contemporaneous materials of the earlier portion of the work had been collected.

The early portions contemporaneous.

Two portions of the work.

The Bridlington book, as we have seen in the survey of the manuscripts, may be divided into two portions, the history of Edward II. and the so called continuation of Trivet, describing the early years of Edward III. and continued by a few scanty jottings to the date of his death. The two may have been the work of one author, and indeed the language used at the close of the first portion and at the beginning of the second, as well as the references to the Incidentia Chronicorum, show that, whether or no that was the case, the narrative was

[1] Below, p. 150.

[2] Below, p. 148.

put in its present order by the same hand. Supposing that the original draft of the work ends at the year 1339 there is no difficulty in referring the whole of it to one writer. On the other hand the *Gesta Edwardi II.* are not interlarded with the extracts from the prophecies, which must have come into the hands of the writer when he was employed on the last years of the reign, and when he was able to add in from the Polychronicon the character of his unhappy hero. It is of little use, however, arguing in the dark, and, on almost any hypothesis, the value of the Chronicle must depend not on the authority of its unknown writer, but on the self-evident contemporaneity and consistency of a great part of its contents.

Uncertainty whether both are the work of the same writer.

The great Chronicle of Meaux Abbey,[2] the work of abbot Thomas Burton who presided over that house from 1396 to 1399 and lived until 1437, contains a quantity of material derived either from our author or from a common source. In particular the minute history of the expedition of Edward Balliol is told in both books in language nearly identical. Meaux Abbey is not twenty miles from Bridlington, and there can be no doubt that literary communication was easy enough. The Meaux Chronicle was certainly drawn up long after the Bridlington Annals, and generally, where it does not exactly reproduce the language of the Annals, it gives the substance in a form so condensed as to deserve the name of abridgment.[3] But it likewise contains particulars,

Connexion of the *Gesta* with the *Chronicon de Melsa*.

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[1] As the eighth volume of the Polychronicon has been published since the matter of the present work was printed, I may give here the references for the passages cited from it. The character of Edward II., below, p. 91, will be found in Hygden, viii. 298; the character of John XXII., below, p. 49, is in the Polychronicon, viii. 306; and the account of Clement V., below, p. 45, agrees closely with that of the Polychronicon, viii. 292.

[2] Chronicon de Melsa, edited in this series by Mr. Bond, who has given in the preface to vol. ii. an account of the Bridlington Chronicle, pp. xli–xliii.

[3] See Mr. Bond's preface, p. xlii.

Relation of the Bridlington Annals to the Chronicle of Meaux.

even in the passages where the resemblance is closest, which are not found in the Bridlington Annals. It may be inferred that in these places the Meaux chronicler either added details from other sources, or made larger use of common materials. But we are still arguing on hypotheses which the discovery of another manuscript of the Bridlington book may entirely dissipate.

Prologue of the Bridlington book.

A rapid survey of the points of special interest contained in this work will for the present suffice as an illustration of its value. The prologue, half prose and half metre, is, to say the least, curious in itself, and not the less in the author's deprecation of hostile or fastidious criticism. Peter Langtoft, the more famous writer of the priory, was perhaps still alive, and any comparison between his elaborate work and the compilation that follows must be to the disparagement of the latter. The rehearsal by the barons of 1308 of the constitutional formula which in 1321 was charged against the Despensers as treasonable, is one of those points which require careful examination in tracing the growth of the political programme of the time,[1] but it is not peculiar to the present writer. The account of the appointment of the Ordainers, and of their proceedings in general, is carefully abstracted from the original evidences, as is likewise the report of the proceedings against the Templars. On the occasion of the death of the great prelate and patriarch Antony Beck, the writer introduces the story of his mediating between Edward I. and the earls in the quarrel of 1297. Of the speech put into the bishop's mouth, the germ is to be found in Peter Langtoft's chronicle,[2] but the language, which is clear and spirited, must have been derived by our author either from a much more elaborate record of what took place, or from the relation of an eye witness. The account of the judicial proceedings of Inge and

Political notices.

Story of Antony Beck.

[1] Below, p. 33, and note 3.

[2] Pet. Langtoft, ii. 290. 291; below, pp. 38, 39.

Spigurnell[1] against Gaveston is, if true, an important addition to our knowledge of the events preceding his execution. The statement is circumstantial enough, and, if these two judges were really sitting at Warwick at the time of the arrest, the earls may not improbably have fortified their action with some show of legality. I am not aware of any confirmative evidence on this point, nor is it likely from what we know of the political connexions of the judges that they would be willing instruments of the vindictive policy of the earls; Inge at least belonged to the unpopular party.[2] Under the year 1314 we learn that the Scots after the battle of Bannockburn pushed on their incursions as far as Richmond,[3] and under 1315 that they in that year plundered Hartlepool;[4] the story of the abduction of the Lady de Clifford by the warden of Barnard Castle is a piece of Yorkshire scandal characteristic of the time;[5] all three are local notes illustrative of contemporary authorship. Under the year 1317 we have a long argument addressed by the earl of Lancaster to Edward II. which is not found elsewhere,[6] and which for its value as a contribution to the political controversy may be ranked with the documents preserved in the *Annales Londonienses*. In 1318 the burning of Northallerton by the Scots and their advance to Bolton Abbey are mentioned,[7] and under 1319 we have the fullest account extant of the White battle or Chapter of Myton and of the fortunes of the archiepiscopal standard which so narrowly escaped capture.[8] The march of the invaders as far as Pontefract, and their retreat through Airedale and Wharfedale, are also particularly noted.[9] Under the year 1321 we have some very important details, which show the great

Incidental points of interest in the Bridlington book.

Local notes of Yorkshire history.

Letter of Lancaster to Edward II.

The White battle.

[1] Below, pp. 43, 44.

[2] See vol. i. p. 264, and Chron. Lanercost, p. 212.

[3] Below, p. 47.

[4] Below, p. 48.

[5] Below, p. 48.

[6] Below, pp. 50–52.

[7] Below, p. 55.

[8] Below, pp. 57, 58.

[9] Below, p. 58.

Lancaster's proceedings in Yorkshire in 1321.

support given to the earl of Lancaster in Yorkshire, and the means which he was taking to promote a formal attack on the king's government, when the quarrels on the Welsh marches provoked the premature contest in which the Despensers, after a short period of disgrace and banishment, gained the upper hand and sealed their triumph by the execution of the earl.[1] On this phase of the tragedy I propose to offer a short commentary on a further page of this preface. The narrative of the civil war that ended with the battle of Boroughbridge is shorter than we should have expected from a writer who lived so near the scene of action, but still preserves some curious points; in particular the story of the attempt made by the younger Despenser to prevent the king from a formal declaration of war.[2] The history of Edward's escape from the Scots at Byland,[3] his flight to Bridlington and Burstwick,[4] the terrible alarm of the canons on Bruce's advance to Malton, and the spiritual peril into which they fell by their desire to make terms with the excommunicated enemy,[5] are interesting additions to our knowledge of the events of 1322. With these however the importance of the chronicle for this reign ceases; the remaining details adding little or nothing to what the southern historians have put on record, and some portion of the material itself apparently being drawn from the Polychronicon.[6]

Events in Yorkshire in 1322.

The Bridlington annals of Edward III.

The annals of the reign of Edward III. begin ambitiously, and seem, by their anticipation of his triumphs, and their rehearsal of the good omens of his career, to have been drawn up after his victories had begun. They are also permeated with the predictions of the soothsayer of Bridlington, and are for the most part of much inferior interest in points of detail. The follow-

[1] Below, pp. 61–65.
[2] Below, p. 75.
[3] Below, p. 79.
[4] Below, p. 79.
[5] Below, pp. 80–82.
[6] See above, p. xxiv., note.

ing are worth notice: the adventure at Stanhope Park;[1] the abortive rising of the Lancaster party in 1328;[2] the particulars of Mortimer's arrest;[3] and the accident at the tournament in Cheapside in 1331.[4] Under the year 1332 begins the narrative of Edward Balliol's expedition to Scotland, which is very circumstantial, and is perhaps, as a whole, the most important and original contribution to history contained in the work. With the details of king Edward's dealings with Scotland, the siege of Berwick and the subsequent fortunes of Balliol up to the point at which the French began openly to intervene in the struggle, the rest of the book is filled. The writer seldom mentions any event that occurred in the south of England, and even touches Yorkshire history only as it is connected with levies of men and demands for money. Some important records are inserted in the text, doubtless from the Incidentia Chronicorum, but most of them are found in other collections. With the expedition of Edward III. in 1339 to Flanders the continuous narrative ends. It will be seen, I think, that this enumeration presents material amply sufficient to justify us in ranking the Bridlington Annals high among the second rate authorities for the history of a period which is singularly deficient in first rate authorities. The episode of Edward Balliol however alone redeems the second portion of the work from the character of a mere compilation or abridgment of common material.

Special points in these annals.

Edward Balliol's invasion of Scotland.

The important part ends in 1339.

III. I will now proceed to give an account of the source from which the third work contained in this volume is derived.

III. The monk of Malmesbury.

This is the "Vita Edwardi II.," printed by Hearne in 1729–30 in a volume comprising also the "Annales" of John of Trokelowe and the "Chronica" of Henry of

[1] Below, p. 96.
[2] Below, p. 99; Ann. de Melsa, ii. 358, 359; pref. p. xlii.
[3] Below, p. 101.
[4] Below, p. 102.

The *Vita Edwardi II.* published by Hearne.

Blaneford. Both these works have been reprinted in the present series and form part of the third volume of the Saint Alban's chronicles edited by Mr. H. T. Riley. The "Vita Edwardi" is generally cited as the work of a monk of Malmesbury, to whom it was, on a very insufficient conjecture, referred by Hearne; and has ever since its publication been regarded as a primary authority for the history of the reign. Hearne transcribed it from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. James West; the following few pages will not be wasted in the record of a small piece of literary history, although it appears to end in a catastrophe which is now irremediable.

Mr. West's MS.

In the month of October 1728 Hearne received from Mr. West, who was then a young Master of Arts of Balliol, and had rooms in the Temple, a manuscript collection of historical character which had come into his hands with other papers of Gervase Holles. West, who had very early begun the antiquarian and bibliographical studies which he combined so successfully with public business, consulted his friend as to the age and authorship of the book.

Lent to Hearne in 1728.

On the 20th of October Hearne writes: "I have not "yet found out the author's name of your MS. chronicle; "I wish I could; I have not quite read it through, "being forced to do it at leisure hours. I find four "entire pages wanting in the history of Edward II. "which I wish could be retrieved from some other copy, "but that I fear you will not be able to do."[1] The industrious antiquary was in fact just bringing out the life of Richard II. by the monk of Evesham, and was too busy quite to realise the importance of the volume before him. On the 23rd of December he was better informed, and I find this note in his diary: "Mr. West "hath lent me an old MS. anonymous chronicle of good "note; the life in it of Edward II. It is large and full,

[1] Hearne to West; MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 101.

"but four pages are wanting of it, which Mr. West tells "me he is wholly incapable of retrieving. The said "chronicle belonged formerly to the Abbey of Malmes-"bury and may therefore be properly stiled *Anonymi* "*Chronicon Malmesburiense.*"[1] He wrote the same day to West, in answer to some information on another book. "I am glad you sent me a note about the age of the two "MSS. of the life of Richard II. But as for your MS. "miscellany, since it doth not relate to that reign, I will "give you no trouble about it at present."[2] But on the 14th of January 1729, he wrote again: "Your old his-"torical MS. that I have consists of two parts, done as I "take it by two different authors. I think the first part, "ending with Henry III., contains nothing but what is "more fully and clearly represented in our already pub-"lished old historians; but the second part is a large "and full account of the reign of Edward II., which I "have therefore a mind to transcribe, notwithstanding "the imperfection I formerly told you of; only I would "first know whether it may not, as I believe it will not, "prove to be the same with Tho. de la More's life of this "prince printed in Camden's *Anglica, Normannica,* &c. "I have not this work, and therefore I beg that you would "write me out and send me the first and last three or "four lines, by which I shall be able to form a judg-"ment."[3] West complied, and copied out on the back of the letter a few lines to send to his correspondent.[4] On the 30th of January Hearne writes to thank him: "I "thank you for sending me the beginning and ending of "Tho. de la More. I now perceive that the life of "Edward II. in your MS. is different from De la More. ". . . . . I wish we could discover the author of "your MS. life of Edward II."[5] West in his next letter

Hearne's opinion of the MS.

His description of the contents.

He proposes to transcribe the life of Edward II.

[1] Diary, vol. 120.
[2] MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 105.
[3] Ibid., 778, p. 107.
[4] Ibid., p. 108.
[5] Ibid., p. 111.

The MS. had belonged to Gervase Holles.

had more to tell of the history of the volume. And Hearne notes in his diary: "February 13, 1729. Mr. West at the "same time informed me that his MS. chronicle that I "have by me, and from which I am transcribing the life "of Edward II., belonged to Sir Gervase Holles, among "whose papers and letters, as he remembers, it came into "his hands."[1]

Imperfection of the MS.

Hearne was now working steadily at his transcript. On the 3rd of April he wrote: "I have now gone over "your old MS. life of Edward II. As I remember I told "you it wanted four pages. I now find that it wants "fourteen others for which I am sorry and heartily wish "another MS. could be met with. You will take occa-"sion to inquire after MSS. of this king."[2]

Hearne proposes to publish it.

Early in the summer he completed his plan of publication and prepared proposals for subscriptions. On the 4th of July he wrote: "I have transcribed the history of "Edward II. from the MS. you lent me. To this history "of Edward II. are subjoined some short memoirs belong-"ing to the reign of Edward III. You can tell best "whether in your S. Alban's MS. there may be anything "proper to be taken into the history of Edward II. "This you may consider at your leisure."[3] On the 15th of July he sends the prospectus: "You will see by this "paper that in a little time I shall make a publick use "of part of your MS. that is in my hands."[4] On the 5th of August he sends another copy of the prospectus.[5] The text was now in the printer's hands and Hearne found time to analyse the other contents of the manuscript.

He examines the first portion of the MS.

On the 15th of August he wrote: "I am sorry your "MS. life of Edward II. wants what relates to the death "of that unfortunate prince; but de la More (which is "already printed) supplies that defect. I have now got

[1] Diary, vol. 120.
[2] MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 121.
[3] Ibid., 778, p. 131.
[4] Ibid., p. 136.
[5] Ibid., pp. 137, 138.

"de la More, having purchased Camden's *Anglica, Nor-* He is transcribing the first part.
"*mannica*, &c. lately. Upon second consideration I find "the first part of your MS. better by much than I "formerly thought it, so that I am also transcribing that "part likewise at leisure minutes; but I know not yet "whether I shall print it, my present design confining "me only to that part which relates to Edward II."[1]

He prepares his edition in haste.

The edition was ready before the end of the year, and the editor was preparing his edition of Caius which was issued in 1730 in two volumes. He had in fact been too much in a hurry to do justice to the work in hand, omitting to give any distinct account of his MS. and in his preface making a curious confusion between Pharaoh and Potiphar[2] which gave his enemies better ground than they usually had for ridiculing him. On the 23rd of January 1730, he had finished printing; "The Trokelowe, "&c. be done. Yet I have not quite done with your "MS. and yet I have transcribed much the greater part "thereof, and shall at my leisure minutes dispatch the "rest."[3] On the 17th of February he sends out the subscription copies: "I have this day sent you by "Godfrey's waggon one copy in large paper of Troke-"lowe's Annals of Edward II., &c. the price of which "is a guinea, which may be sent by Godfrey."[4] Mr. West took the hint, and the next letter records the receipt: "Feb. 28. I just now received your guinea "very safe. I thank you for it, and acknowledge it "to be in full for the copy in large paper I sent you of "Trokelowe's Annals of King Edward II., &c. I have "not yet done with your MS., which I wish were as co-"herent in the other parts as 'tis in that I printed. I "might then propose to publish those parts also. But "indeed in many respects they are not in one conti-

The book published in February 1729-30.

[1] MS. Lansdowne, p. 139.

[2] "Josephi adinstar (quem Pha-"raonis uxor . . . sollicitaverat):" *Lectori*, p. xxxiv. See MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 181.

[3] MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 156.

[4] Ibid., 778, p. 158.

Letter of Hearne to West.

"nued method, but are in some measure only broken "scraps, though even these scraps are by no means "despicable. I am glad you confirm what I have said "of the former owner. I might have said more had I "known then of the papers you speak of. I know not "which of them at present to fix upon, but you may "use your discretion in communicating whatever "you shall think fit."[1] The transcription of the manuscript went on through the spring. On the 7th of May we find: "I have now transcribed the other part of "your historical MS. and have nothing more to do but "to compare my transcript with it, which I must also "do at leisure."[2] A month later: "June 9. I have at "last returned your historical MS. from whence I "printed the Vita Edwardi II. It comes this day by "Godfrey's waggon at the Oxford Arms. The carriage "is paid. I desire you would be pleased to let me "know when you receive it."[3]

Hearne completes his copy and returns the manuscript.

His note on the MS. on his own diary.

The same month Hearne notes in his diary the completion of his task. "June 16, 1730. On Tuesday "June 9, 1730, I returned carriage paid to James West, "Esq., at No. 7 in Figtree Court in the Inner Temple, "London, his folio MS. containing matters of English "History in the Latin tongue. The MS. formerly be- "longed to the abbey of Malmesbury, after which at "length it came to Gervase Holles, as I have insinuated "in my preface to John Trokelowe's Annals, where I "have printed from this MS. Vita Edwardi II. which I "have ascribed to *Monachus quidam Malmesburiensis*, "whose name I know not. The first part of the MS. "contains, as I take it, collections from other historians, "without a just order, yet the beginning goes regularly "enough on. I have also the transcript of this first "part. I returned the said MS. by Tho. Godfrey's

[1] MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 159.
[2] Ibid., p. 165.
[3] Ibid., p. 167.

"waggon that puts up at the Oxford Arms in Warwick "Lane."[1] On the 20th of June he has heard of its safe arrival: "On the 10th of June 1730, Mr. West tells "me he had received from me safe his MS. from which "I printed Vita Edwardi II."[2] On the 17th he wrote "I am glad you received your MS. safe."[3]

The MS. again in West's hands.

Having thus carefully followed the history of the volume back to its home in the Temple, it is painful to have to state that it has never since been seen by any one able to recognise it. And, this being so, there can be little doubt as to its fate. In January 1737 the Gentleman's Magazine tells this sad tale: "Monday "Jan. 31. Several fires happened in London this month, "but one in the Inner Temple, on the 4th at night, was "the most considerable; near thirty counsellors' cham-"bers were destroyed. The Prince of Wales was there "for some time, encouraging the firemen, and gave "orders for fifty soldiers to assist."[4] Poor Mr. West was one of the greatest sufferers. On the 14th of the same month Dr. Rawlinson writes: "Mr. West of the Temple "has suffered a considerable loss in valuable MSS., at "least 1,800*l*. burnt. This fire like that of the Cotton "Library is a public loss."[5] Ten days after Mrs. Elstob wrote to George Ballard: "Jan. 24, 1736-7. Now, my "good friend, I must join with you in lamentation, for "I dare say you are grieved as well as myself for "the loss our learned and ingenious friend Mr. West "has sustained by the late fire at the Temple. I can-"not forbear grieving when I think what losses have "happened of that kind within these few years, and "heartily beseech Almighty God to preserve all our "noble repositories for the future."[6]

It is lost.

Its probable fate.

West's books burned in the Temple.

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[1] Diary, vol. 126.
[2] Ibid.
[3] MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 169.
[4] Gent. Mag. for 1737.
[5] Ballard's Letters, MS. vol. ii. f. 10.
[6] Ballard's Letters, MS. vol. 43, f. 18.

Mr. West's later collections.

Great as Mr. West's loss was, all his collections did not perish; he lived for many years after, and collected another noble library, which, after his death on July 2, 1772,[1] was sold in London. His MSS. were bought by Lord Shelburne, and now form part of the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum. In this collection are some volumes that once belonged to Gervase Holles, but neither there, nor in the sale catalogue of Mr. West's Library, is a trace of the precious volume in question to be found. Fortunately Hearne's copies were preserved; his transcript of the Vita Edwardi is now contained in MS. Rawlinson, B. 180; and that of the first half of the MS. in MS. Rawlinson, B. 414, in the Bodleian Library. From these we are enabled to draw up a minute account of the lost volume.

Account of the manuscript inferred from Hearne's notes.

The manuscript was a folio, and must have contained a hundred and sixty-five written leaves, no allowance being made for the eighteen missing pages, the loss of which was remarked by Hearne.[2] Of these the folios numbered 1–62 contained a consecutive chronicle from the year 1066 to the year 1347; folios 62–84 contained a *recapitulatio de rege Ricardo et ejus successoribus*, which is a long extract from the chronicle of Walter of Hemingburgh, pp. 227–309, of the first volume of Mr. Hamilton's edition published for the English Historical Society. After some intervening scraps from William of Newburgh, which were not worth transcribing, followed a list of the abbots of Malmesbury, which is added in the appendix to the present preface. Then on folio 92 began the *Vita Edwardi II.*, filling folios 92–165. "At the end of the said life of Edward II. is" an old deed, which will likewise be found in the ap-

[1] West was M.A. in 1726; F.S.A. the same year; M.P. for S. Alban's in 1741; joint secretary to the Treasury to 1762; had a pension of 2,000*l.* a year in 1765 or 1766; died July 2, 1772. Nichols' Lit. Anecd., vi. 344.

[2] See above, pp. xxxii., xxxiv., and below pp. 224, 271, 275.

pendix, and upon the first page of the last parchment leaf "G. Holles
Meis, mihi } 1648."

Hearne has added on the last page of the transcript the following note, which apparently expresses his last thoughts upon the subject. "As I take it the history "of Edward II. in this MS. was done by a quite "different author from the rest, which seems to be ex-"tracted only from other writers. Yet both were done "by some hand or hands of Malmesbury. The writing "of the first part of the MS. is different for the most "part from the writing of the life of Edward II. I "believe they were formerly bound in two different "volumes, notwithstanding bound together it may be "by Sir Gervase Holles now; for one blank leaf, so I "take it to have been, hath been cut out after the "abbats' names, and there is now one blank leaf after "that remaining; only a modern hand hath transcribed "on the front page thereof the names of the abbats. "The life then begins of Edward II., an illuminated "great E. being the first letter, without any other title "than in a modern hand Edwardus 2. I was once "thinking that this life of Edward II. had been "Hemyngford's, but Hemyngford's way of writing by "chapters, putting the contents before each chapter, "was different." Hearne's last note on the MS.

The one interesting question that arises upon this is what was the chronicle that occupied the first part of the volume? Hearne's careful copy enables us to give a complete answer. The chronicle runs, as has been said, from 1066 to 1347; but it really is a composition of three distinct sections. What was the first part of the MS.

(1.) From 1066 to 1282 it is an exact copy of the chronicle of, I believe, the Præmonstratensian abbey of Barlings, in Lincolnshire. My reason for assigning it to Barlings is this:—The chronicle, in its base and over a great part of its extent, coincides with that of the Præ- The Chronicle of Barlings.

Reason for assigning it to Barlings.

monstratensian abbey of Hagneby, now MS. Vespasian B. xi. in the Cottonian Collection, but has occasional divergencies and additions that point to a house of the same order in Lindsey. The first addition in point is in the second year of Henry II.: "Venit conventus apud Ber-"linges." The last is in 1282: "Obiit Matildis de Lon-"gespeye vigilia Sancti Thomæ apostoli." The house of Longespee were the patrons of Barlings, and Matilda was an especial benefactress. Another copy of this Barlings Chronicle, exactly, even to the clerical errors, corresponding with Hearne's transcript, is in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, No. 199, in perfect preservation, and perhaps the identical volume from which the scribe of the lost MS. made his copy. As this chronicle has been hitherto practically unknown, and certainly unidentified, I will add a brief analysis, premising that, down to the year 1253, the same description will apply to the Hagneby Chronicle; after that year there is only a general resemblance down to 1282, after which the Hagneby Chronicle continues to the year 1307.

Another copy of this Chronicle at Magdalen College, Oxford.

Analysis of the Barlings Chronicle.

The history of the Norman reigns is an independent compilation from Henry of Huntingdon, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury, with occasional extracts from Robert de Monte. The reign of Stephen is mainly from Henry of Huntingdon; under A.D. 1145 we find "exordium or-"dinis Præmonstratensis in Anglia apud Neuhus"; under 1148, "Conventus apud Alnewyk primo venit"; under 1150, "Institutio ordinis Præmonstratensis apud "Dribrygg." The chief source for the reign of Henry II. is Robert de Monte; but the latter part of the reign has only a scanty abstract; the same description applies to the reign of Richard I., although the source from which it is derived is not quite clear.[1] With the account of

Præmonstratensian notes.

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[1] The story of Richard's death is told thus: "Ultimo anno regis Ri-"cardi, dum idem rex obsideret cas-"tellum Wydomari comitis Lemo-"vicensis, scilicet Caluz, iiii^to nonas "Aprilis, minus provide armatus

the death and burial of Richard I. the chronicle begins to coincide verbally with the Annals of Waverley, and this coincidence continues with more or less accuracy to the year 1252; the most significant exceptions being an entry under 1230, "Combusta est ecclesia de Barling in "festo undecim millia Virginum circa solis occasum," which is not in the Hagneby book; and one under 1252 mentioning the death of William of Longespee at Damietta. The matter that follows down to the year 1282 seems to be original, and I have ventured to print it in the appendix to this preface.

Agreement with the Annals of Waverley.

(2.) The compiler, having completed his copy of the Barlings Chronicle, seems to have been at a loss for a continuation: "hic quatuor lineæ adeo penitus sunt "erasæ ut ne una quidem littera appareat"; but to have easily contented himself, for he takes up the jejune compilation known to us under the name of Galfridus le Baker de Swinbroke, with the words "Tantus calor erat" as in Dr. Giles' edition, p. 36, and follows it down to the year 1336, where it stops abruptly.[1] From the year 1307 onwards there is an occasional close correspondence between this compilation and the *Eulogium* published under Mr. Haydon's editorship in the present series; the lost chronicle, however, agreeing more closely with Geoffrey le Baker than with the *Eulogium*, where the two differ. From the year 1337 to the year 1347 the

A continuation from 1282 to 1346

Coincidence with the *Eulogium*.

"quam tantum regem decuit, et pro- "pius castellum accedens, contigit "ut quidam de militibus nomine "Bertramus de Gurdone, dirigens "sagittam in regem quam ipse prius "in vanum direxerat, proth dolor, "eadem sagitta percussus est. At "ipse vilipendens percussionem "manu propria hastam fregit, sed "ferrum ut fertur toxicatum prope "medullam ossium adhæsit. Sic- "que factum est ut arte periret qua "ipse alios perdere satagebat. Sep- "timo igitur idus Aprilis ibidem, "Eo disponente cujus providentia "in sui dispositione non fallitur, "viam universæ carnis ingressus "est, et sepultus est ad pedes patris "sui in monasterio sanctimonia- "lium Fontis Ebroldi."

[1] Galfridus le Baker de Swinbroke, ed. Giles, pp. 36–43. On this Chronicle see further below, pp. lvii., sq.

Coincidence with the *Eulogium* 1337-1347.

Eulogium, or the work from which both the *Eulogium* and the lost chronicle were derived, is closely copied, and all relation to Baker's compilation ceases. This portion is of very little value except as indicating the existence of some material, besides the continuation of Adam of Murimuth, to which all three compilers were indebted. The Eulogium itself is referred with great probability to Malmesbury [1] as its proper home, and, if it really were the source of the material used in these additions to the Barlings Chronicle, it may slightly strengthen the inference to which Hearne came, that the whole volume, whether or not it was first bound together by Gervase Holles, had a real relation to Malmesbury.

Connexion of the MS. with Malmesbury.

This connexion with Malmesbury, so far as the latter half of the volume goes, would seem to be proved by the fact that the list of abbots and the transcript of abbot Robert's charter were written on the blank leaves at the beginning and the end of it. Through whose hands it passed before it reached those of Gervase Holles we have no information; and there is no use in conjecturing the circumstances of its early history by connecting the Longespee foundation in Lincolnshire with the possible interest which, as earls of Salisbury, other Longespees may have had in Malmesbury, or even at Osney, where Geoffrey le Baker wrote. Gervase Holles was a devout adherent of Charles I.; a member of the family from which sprang the earls of Clare, and representative of the borough of Great Grimsby in the parliaments of 1640 and 1661. At the beginning of the civil war he brought 117 men to the king at Nottingham; he raised a foot regiment at his own expense; served through the war with the rank of colonel, and, as his own petition relates, was plundered, imprisoned, and banished.[2] At the Restoration he made his sufferings known, and re-

Gervase Holles, the owner of the MS.

[1] See Mr. Haydon's preface to the Eulogium, vol. i., pp. xxix–xlii.

[2] Domestic State Papers, Charles II., i. 112.

ceived the appointment of Master of Requests with a pension of 100*l.* a year.[1] He died in 1674, Feb. 10; and was buried at Mansfield.[2] It is said that throughout his long career of business and adventure he took every opportunity of collecting traditions, manuscripts, and church notes, and especially laboured at the history of his own family and county. Several volumes of his notes and collections are in the Lansdowne Library, which they reached after Mr. West's sale, and some are among the additional MSS. in the Museum.[3] Our lost MS. came with the others into Mr. West's hands, but we do not know how; nor among the many enthusiastic antiquaries who flourished between 1674 and 1726 do we find any who knew of the valuable material which it contained. Hearne, we may fairly say, discovered it and gave to the world the most precious of its contents.

Account of Gervase Holles.

It must be allowed that Hearne satisfied himself very easily about the authorship of the "Vita Edwardi II." He had thought that it might be Thomas de la More's; and afterwards that it might be Hemingburgh's; but he contented himself with believing that, as it had come from Malmesbury, it must be the work of a monk of Malmesbury. Accordingly he so entitled it, and as the work of the monk of Malmesbury it has been known ever since; so firmly has the name adhered to it that I have not thought it necessary to separate them in this new edition, and, until a real claimant comes forward, it must remain as it is. But looking at the internal evidence I must say that I find very little that would have led me to infer either that it had, so far as the authorship goes, any connexion with Malmesbury, or that the writer was a monk. As Hearne was a good authority on the date of the penmanship, and as the

Hearne's ascription of the book to the "Monk of Malmesbury."

Slight evidence on the point.

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[1] Domestic State Papers, Charles II., i. 496.

[2] Bliss, Fasti Oxonienses, ii. 27.

[3] MS. Lansdowne 207, six volumes; Addl. MS. 6118.

Question as to contemporaneous authorship.

MS. is lost, we may accept his account of it, and believe that the work was written during the century which it illustrates. But it is a grave question whether it can be regarded as a composition strictly contemporaneous; the air of expectancy which the writer occasionally assumes seems to be rather artificial, and the anticipations of misfortune in which he frequently indulges read very much like the wisdom that prophesies after the event. There is in the work little of the undesigned and yet forcible coincidence that suggests that the writer was learning more of his subject as he proceeded; there are few of the local and chronological data which, by their irrelevancy to the main issue, show themselves so valuable as proofs of contemporary annotation; and there is throughout a tendency to moralising which would be strange indeed if we supposed the author to have been living, whilst he wrote, in the midst of the most stirring events. Yet, on the other hand, it is almost as difficult to suppose that the book was written long after the time; there are no important anticipations of definite events; indeed it can scarcely be said that there is any distinct foreshadowing of the great catastrophe of the period. The happy auguries uttered on the birth of Edward III.[1] do not imply that they were penned after he came to the throne, any more than the lamentation that his father has reigned six years,[2] and done no good, implies that at the time of writing he had reigned only six years. As the narration increases in the amount of detail which it gives as it approaches the close, I am inclined to think that, on the whole, the writer may have begun to write towards the end of the reign of Edward II. As he does not anticipate the revolution and murder of the king, and as his genuine work ends at the year 1325, we cannot infer that he wrote much later than that year. All the later

Provisional conclusion.

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[1] Below, pp. 188, 189.

[2] Below, p. 191.

entries in the MS., which continue the history down by a thin string to the date of the great plague, are added from the Polychronicon.[1] Hearne does not indicate that they were written in another hand, and, if they were not, we must infer either that the MS. was not the original work of the annalist, or else that, growing weary of his task before he finished it, he had brought his labour to a hurried and borrowed conclusion. All this is matter of inference from hypothesis, and would of course have to be materially modified if any other copy, or even our lost MS., should ever be found.

Additions from the Polychronicon.

Leaving the date of the composition thus unsettled, we ask what conclusions does the work suggest as to the character, position, and local home of its author? As for the last point, it must be allowed that there is very little material for a conclusion at all. The events of which the writer seems to have the most local knowledge are those connected with the family of Berkeley and the town of Bristol, both sufficiently near to Malmesbury to furnish some slight presumption in favour of Hearne's hypothesis. The stories of the troubles at Bristol in 1316,[2] and of the attempt to get Maurice Berkeley[3] out of Wallingford castle, are the two circumstantial episodes to which I refer; but there are other incidental notes which look in the same direction.[4] Yet the earl of Warwick is the great man

Internal indications of the position and character of the writer.

[1] I give here the references to the pages of the Rolls edition of the Polychronicon, where these passages will be found; the outlawry of the queen (p. 289) is from Polychr. viii. 318; the following particulars to the end of the reign (pp. 289, 290) are the 42nd chapter of the seventh book of the Polychronicon, ibid. pp. 318–322. The opening of the reign of Edward III. (p. 290) down to the word *tutavit* (p. 291), is from the 44th chapter, pp. 324–330; the creation of the earls (p. 292) is from the same chapter, p. 332; and the remaining entries will be found, pp. 334–345, a small portion of the matter of the Polychronicon being omitted.

[2] See pp. 219–221.

[3] See pp. 273–275.

[4] See pp. 160, 184, 212. Maurice Berkeley is mentioned, p. 210.

Illustrations of the character of the writer.

His learning.

His dislike of the court.

His attitude towards the court of Rome.

for whom the writer has the most fervent admiration and whom he laments for most. As for his own character, we are not by any means left in doubt; he is a most self-conscious moralist, never hesitating, at the most critical moments of the tragedy, to act as chorus; he has read ancient history, sacred and profane,[1] and, what is more rare, he is very fond of quoting, without express citation, passages from the Code, the Digest,[2] and the Decretals.[3] These come in more naturally than the historical illustrations, as if they were the habitual language in which his thoughts would run. He has many little tags of verse, or even versified proverbs.[4] But further, he is very hostile to the court and to courtiers,[5] and that not as an ignorant outsider; he writes as John of Salisbury might have written if he had lived two centuries later, not like a mere disappointed candidate or the hanger-on of a disgraced favourite. And in regard to the papal court he uses such strong language of reprobation[6] as at first sight might suggest that he wrote as late as the days of the great schism, or even as late as the Reformation. The abuses of the curia,[7] the impotency of the pope,[8] the miserable effects produced in England by the practice of appeals,[9] by the countenancing of simony,[10] by the promotion of unfit

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[1] See the reference to Æneas, pp. 166, 245; Patroclus, p. 168; Richard I., p. 191, where the Latin and French history is referred to; the barons' war, p. 196; battle of Falkirk, p. 205; of Courtrai, p. 206; the story of Xerxes, p. 207; Julius Cæsar, p. 229; Nebuchadnezzar, pp. 237, 241; Arphaxad, p. 237; Helen of Troy, p. 241; Alexander and Philotas, p. 245; Achilles, p. 251; Amonius, p. 253, and the several references to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[2] See pp. 166, 170, 176, 182, 186, 187, 194, 198, 199, 213, 232, 260, 270, 276.

[3] See pp. 231, 232, 252. There are references to English law, pp. 262, 272.

[4] See pp. 163, 165, 167, 168, 174, 176, 180, 182, 184, 204, 213, 219, 260, 270.

[5] See pp. 167, 180, 184, 195, 223, 239, 246–249, 271, 273, 283.

[6] See pp. 197, 198.

[7] See p. 197.

[8] See p. 198.

[9] See p. 197.

[10] See pp. 197 198, 253.

bishops,[1] by the general uselessness of the Avignonese administration, are set forth in language that constitutes one of the most striking features of the book. If it were not that we have in Matthew Paris, who, we must remember, wrote but seventy years before him, equally strong and pointed denunciations, and that after the preaching of Wycliffe, and the more violent utterances of the early reformers, a new element of venomous bitterness and personal hatred enters into the attacks on ecclesiastical abuses, as well as into the defence of existing conditions, we might, as I have said, be tempted to throw the whole composition forward to a later date. But this is unnecessary; and although, judging from our author's language on these points, we may be sure that he would have sympathised with Ockham in his attack on the papal practice of misgovernment, it is not so clear that he would have accepted his theory, or his criticism on the papal theory. Still the passages are curious, both in themselves and in the illustrations they furnish that the zealous rebukes of a friend may in time of peace be clothed in language not very different from that which the enemy takes up in open warfare. On the whole, we conclude the writer inclines to pose as a political philosopher; he hates the court, he criticises the pope, he has a pitying contempt for the king, he thoroughly despises the political bishops, and he has the laws and histories at his fingers' ends. He might be a teacher in a university or a retired civilian, but could scarcely be a monk.

His severe criticism on the popes.

With all this uncertainty about him it is possible that there may be two opinions as to the value of his work, although there can be but one as to its interest. The remarks which in a contemporary writer are proofs of perspicacity, or of real insight, in the mouths of the next generation are the emptiest of all platitudes. And with some such allowance for uncertainty we are obliged

Allowance for the uncertainty of date.

[1] See pp. 197, 251, 252, 253.

Necessary allowance.

to accept all the political statements vouchsafed to us by the two most intelligent authors whose works are before us. Their views are of questionable importance, because we cannot determine the points at which they are standing. We will, however, for a moment accept them as the opinions of intelligent lookers-on, and on that supposition ask what they thought of Gaveston and the Despensers, and of the favouritism of their master.

Political attitude of the two writers before us.

Neither of the writers before us, the Bridlington canon and the unknown person whom we must still call the monk of Malmesbury, writes as having any personal hostility to Edward II. or any attachment to his great adversary, or any admiration for the queen. But the silence of the first writer and the criticism of the second alike warn us that from the beginning of the reign there was a growing misgiving about the king's capacity for government or for any serious business.

Moderation of language.

The language of the Malmesbury writer is so moderate that it may almost be regarded as a proof that the historian lived before the fall of the king and the tyranny of his mortal foes had made him a character for tragedy or had enlisted strong feeling on either side. Edward was not hated, despicable as he might seem, until his wife raised against him the cry of her fabricated wrongs, and won for the moment the support of those who, however deeply they may have felt, had not yet pledged

Character of Edward II.

themselves to avenge the death of Lancaster. He was a trifler, an amateur farmer, a breeder of horses, a patron of playwrights, a contriver of masques, a smatterer in mechanical arts; he was, it may be, an adept in rowing, and a practised whip; he could dig a pit or thatch a barn;[1] somewhat varied and inconsistent accomplish-

[1] This curious taste of the king's is noticed not only in the Lanercost Annals, but by Hall's Continuator of Trivet, p. 18; "motam faciens " . . . . fossatis ipsam forestam " claudendo, aliaque faciendo quæ " statum suum minime decuerunt."

ments, but all testifying to the skilful hand rather than the thoughtful head, and in some respects reminding us of the tastes of more modern and scarcely less unfortunate princes, such as Lewis XVI. He had a certain skill in the arts of the tournament, but no credit for the serious pursuits of arms; a love of the pomp and expense of military show, no taste for discipline or manœuvre or the sustained conception of a siege or campaign. But he was a fine, tall, handsome man, with strong likes and dislikes and exaggerated ways of showing them. He inherited from his grandfather a readiness to speak and an absence of sound judgment in the use of words. He had little self-restraint, and could be very provoking. Still England could have forgiven a great deal to his father's son, and the lamentation of the Malmesbury writer over his uselessness and want of enterprise is very different from a harsh commentary on a hated tyrant. Even the favourites are not spoken of vindictively until it is seen that they are ruining the king.

Trifling tastes.

His figure, and manner.

And there is a great difference between the two favourites. The one is a foreigner greedy of money and power, a misleader of the king, a cause of extravagance and expense to the court, an upstart pretender to a royal alliance, an insolent critic and rival of the great nobles of the land; but for all that a most accomplished knight who, if he could have won the favour of the classes next below the barons, might have created a counterpoise to the influences under which both he and his master fell. Gaveston had no friend but the king, nor any who even tolerated him but for the king's sake. With all his wealth he gained no favour among the poor and endowed no religious house that might have conserved his praises. Considering the very short period during which he was really in power, from July 1307 to May 1308, he must have had a wonderful capacity for incurring enmities. Yet no harshness, or

Difference between Gaveston and le Despenser.

Character and position of Gaveston. cruelty, or oppression is laid to his charge; he engrossed the king's gifts and favours, but he is not said to have usurped the rights of other men. And when he died his name perished; no surviving son inherited either his enmities or the duty of revenging him, so as to keep alive popular odium. The writers of the time could afford to pity him notwithstanding his great faults. Edward's regard for him is the one redeeming strong feature of his shallow but sensitive nature. Unquestionably he was attached to him as his friend from childhood, and admired him both as endowed with accomplishments which he did not himself possess, and as having a stronger mind, and a readier, clearer will than his own. He worked hard to avenge him, and endowed a house of friars to pray for his soul and watch his tomb. It was reserved for a later generation to discover an element of vice in what his contemporaries viewed with pitying indignation as a stupid but faithful infatuation.

Position of the Despensers. The antecedents of the Despensers, and indeed all the circumstances that mark their action in the drama of the reign, were very different. Gaveston was a foreigner, they were members of the great baronial order which had sprung from the allies, officials, and servants of the Norman and Angevin kings. Gaveston was an upstart, whose promotion by marriage was a disparagement to the great house into which he was forced as suddenly and with as little regard for appearances as any of the grooms of the court to whom, according to their enemies' story, Henry II. and Richard I. had given noble heiresses. The Despensers were near akin to the Bigods and the Lovels; Hugh le Despenser, the father, was brother-in-law to the earl of Warwick;[1]

[1] He paid a fine of 1,000 marks in the 15th year of Edward I. for marrying without licence Isabella, widow of Patrick of Chaworth, daughter of William Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. I suppose that she was mother of his son, the younger Hugh.

Their high rank.

it could be no disparagement to the highest lady in the land to marry a grandson of the justiciar who fell at Evesham. The bestowal on Gaveston of the royal earldom of Cornwall was an outrage on aristocratic and even popular feeling much greater than the gift of Gloucester to the younger Hugh, or Winchester to his father. But whilst Gaveston's foreign extraction and sudden rise drew on him contemptuous hatred, the Despensers had to encounter a hostility in which fear was largely intermingled. The case of father and son is not the same, and the historians who regard both with the same dislike, and indeed reflect the general odium under which they fell, vary very much in their account of their comparative demerits. They have little pity for either, yet they differ in the proportion of blame they assign to each.

Different estimates of father and son.

The constitutional opposition, suspended under Edward I., revives under his son.

It would be hazardous to attempt to trace the course by which the political principles for which Simon de Montfort fell had been handed down to the third generation after him. With the one exception of the great struggle of 1297, the internal difficulties of Edward I. had had no political character whatever. The king had represented the law and the constitution: the men who set themselves in opposition to him were not the representatives in blood or in principle of the men who had resisted his father. They were not men of the same moral strength or of the same high purpose; truth and justice seemed as long as he lived to have changed sides. With the weak and foolish reign of his son whatever remained of political principle and patriotic feeling awoke in opposition to the crown; and the leaders of the time, provoked by the slights of the court, or animated by jealous dislike of the favourites, had to look around them for a formula which might justify their demands for a limit on the powers of the crown. There was reaction too, no doubt, against the stringent pressure by which Edward I. had kept his

Combination of parties against Gaveston.

earls in order, and had clipped the wings and cut the claws of Bigod and Bohun. Still the old ministers of the old king, Henry de Lacy at their head and Hugh le Despenser with him, although thrown out of the positions of power which they had long possessed; Thomas of Lancaster, his nephew, whose ambition he had nursed; Gilbert of Gloucester, his grandson; and Humfrey of Hereford, his son-in-law, might together have held the key of power, and maintained the royal administration on the old lines. As against the first favourite they had presented a united phalanx. But early on in the quarrel the elder Hugh le Despenser had gone over to the enemy. Whether his hatred of Thomas of Lancaster or the mere wish to court the king's favour were the cause, from the second year of the reign he was on Gaveston's side. The Malmesbury writer speaks of him as the only baron who took his part, and the Annals of Lanercost, as well as the Annales Paulini,[1] name him as one of the six counsellors who in the autumn parliament of the first year, that is immediately after the banishment of Gaveston, were removed at the urgent desire of the earls from the royal council. Of the other three, Nicolas Segrave had incurred the enmity of earl Thomas probably by supplanting his ally, William Mareschal, in the office of marshal at the coronation;[2] for the hereditary marshalship had expired with the last of the Bigod earls, and the service was now performed by deputy. Yet whilst the elder Hugh was committed to the king's party, his son was the reputed author of the formula in which, according to some of our authorities, the confederation for the limitation of the king's authority depended for justification. The principle which was alleged in the act against the

Desertion of the elder Despenser.

He is removed from the council.

His son takes part against Gaveston.

[1] Vol. i. p. 264. Chron. Lanercost, p. 212.

[2] Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 162. Segrave appears later in the reign as a retainer of the earl, see below, p. lxxxiii.

Despensers, as invented by the younger Hugh in order to draw John Giffard into his alliance, that homage and fealty are due to the king in consideration of his crown rather than of his person, and that if he acts unreasonably he may be constrained to do right, was the principle on which the proceedings against Gaveston were instituted. And, if we may judge by the attitude which the younger Hugh took both then and afterwards, we may well believe that he had enunciated this formula and was enlisted in the party opposed to that in which his father was found.[1] Possibly he may have been at this period of his life under the influence of the earl of Warwick, who was his mother's brother, and who, according to the historians of the time, was, notwithstanding his roughness, a man of remarkable sagacity and statesmanship. When in 1311 the Ordainers presented a second series of demands, which, having a personal and temporary application, were not incorporated in the final draft of the Ordinances, one of the clauses ran as follows: that Robert Darcy and Edmund Bacon and others who went out of the palace, in order to run upon Sir Hugh le Despenser the son, be removed from the king's household and retinue and be in no office under the king.[2] Obviously the younger Hugh was at this time in alliance with Warwick and Lancaster. In 1312 the father is one of the king's agents in making peace after Gaveston's death;[3] in 1313 he is excepted from the benefit of the pacification by Lancaster's interest;[4] and in 1314 he is driven from court.[5] Yet in 1313, according to the statement of Sir Thomas de la Moore, Sir Hugh the son was forced into the office of

Enunciation of constitutional power to restrain the king.

Influence of the earl of Warwick.

The younger Hugh supported by the Ordainers.

Different politics of father and son.

[1] This is a curious point on which more light may be thrown hereafter. See vol. i. p. 153; vol. ii. p. 33; Statutes of the Realm, i. 182; below, p. 65; Rot. Parl. iii. 363.

[2] Ann. London; above, vol. i. p. 200.

[3] Above, vol. i. p. 221.

[4] Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 195.

[5] Below, p. 299.

The younger Hugh made chamber-lain.

chamberlain by the Lancaster party, although the king hated him; and certainly in 1318 he was continued in the office by a parliament in which Lancaster was the leading spirit, and in which he had refused to be reconciled with the elder Hugh.[1] It was probably his marriage with the eldest of the Gloucester heiresses that drew him finally into the king's party; for, although this must have taken place as early as 1309, long that is before he went over, it was not until after earl Gilbert's death in 1314, or even later, after the division of the Gloucester heritage, which was made in 1317,[2] that the rivalry of the husbands of his sisters-in-law assumed the form of active hostility. As his position at court and in the country grew stronger the family hatred grew more violent, and before the end of the year which had seen him confirmed in the chamberlainship he was committed to the line of aggressive usurpation which involved him in the struggle that ended in his banishment. Immediately on his return, after a short period of exile, during which he seems to have behaved very lawlessly, more like a pirate than an English baron, he threw himself heart and soul into the king's design against Lancaster. Yet even now, if we may believe the Bridlington annalist,[3] he preserved some of the legal scruples which had marked his early career, and strongly opposed the king's measure of raising his standard, as for civil war, at Burton-on-Trent. This is the last occasion, however, on which we find him counselling even a show of moderation. After joining in the judicial murder of earl Thomas and the other rebel lords he is found pursuing a career of avarice and aggression indistinguishable from that of his father.

Involved in the Gloucester disputes.

Engaged on the king's side.

Story of his conduct at Burton-on-Trent.

It is curious that the writers of the time should have themselves been uncertain how they should apportion

[1] Roll of the Parliament, Cole's Documents, p. 4; cf. Mon. Malmesb., below, pp. 236, 240.

[2] Cont. Trivet, ed. Hall, p. 25.

[3] Below, p. 75.

the blame between father and son. They agree in ascribing to the elder Hugh up to the time of the crisis a high reputation for justice not unmixed with severity; and to the son the great influence over the king which he so fatally misused; but beyond these sufficiently obvious points there is a conflict of opinion. Our own survey inclines us to the opinion that, whilst from the beginning of the reign the father had clung to the court party, the son had more or less identified himself with the opposition; and that it was only after the year 1319 that the two began to work together on a common plan of personal aggrandizement. The Pauline annalist, looking at the political side of the matter, lays the whole blame of the quarrel of 1321 on the son, who had exercised despotic authority over the royal household and estranged the king from his friends and counsellors.[1] The Bridlington writer, who, notwithstanding his northern home and experience, occasionally speaks with severity of the Lancaster policy, regarded the elder Hugh as one of the first men of the day in sense and probity,[2] and preserves for us the anecdote of the son's conduct at Burton, which serves to give us a favourable impression of his character.[3] The Malmesbury writer attempts to deal out a measure of blame to both. The father was cruel and greedy, too severe in judgment, and utterly unscrupulous in acquisition. It was not right that the son should bear the iniquity of the father, but there were some who thought that the malice of the son outweighed the severity of the father, and that his misuse of his personal influence with the king was the cause of their common ruin.[4] Sir Thomas de la Moore too, was inclined to think the father a victim to the faults of the son;[5] he extols the honourable, prudent,

Different opinions of contemporaries.

The Pauline annalist.

The Bridlington writer.

The Malmesbury writer.

Sir Thomas de la Moore.

[1] Vol. i., p. 292.
[2] Below, p. 87.
[3] Below, p. 75.
[4] Below, pp. 260, 261.
[5] Below, p. 299.

Opinions about the Despensers.

industrious, and energetic old man; and ascribes to his inordinate attachment to his most ambitious, cruel, haughty, and abandoned son the ignominious end which befel him. The other contemporary writers, of whom Adam of Murimuth may be regarded as the chief, observe a careful discrimination, and abstain from any strong expressions of praise, blame, or sympathy. It would almost seem that the misery of Edward's own fall engrossed such pity as the men of the time could afford to bestow, just as it had been with Earl Thomas before him. With the two terrible examples of the instability of human greatness before men's eyes, the minor actors and sufferers were of less account. Where the great earl perished the fate of men like Badelesmere and Burghersh was a matter of course, and so when the king fell men cared little about the Despensers.

Comparison of the fates of the favourites.

As compared with Gaveston too there was little room for pity; they reaped as they had sown; he, if he had won the hatred of his rivals, had done nothing to deserve the vindictive cruelty with which they destroyed him. Further, the family of the Despensers continued to maintain hereditary feuds; the glory of the Gascon upstart waned as rapidly as it had waxed: Gaveston left no heir; the quarrel of the Despensers runs on for nearly a century, until the blood of earl Thomas of Gloucester, shed in 1400 by the rabble at Bristol, mingled with the stream in which Henry the Fourth avenged the wrongs of Lancaster. He was great grandson of the younger Hugh; the Gloucester earldom was the fatal boon that destroyed them both. The unwise favouritism of two kings, the long hatred of the men of Bristol, and the fall before the rising party of Lancaster, add in this instance one more to the many parallel circumstances of the two revolutions of the century, and testify to the permanence of secondary, almost accidental, circumstances in the sequence of cause and consequence.

IV. The fourth and last of the memoirs collected in this volume is the "Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi," ascribed to Sir Thomas de la More, or de la Moore. This has been known to the world since 1602, when it was printed by Camden in the collection which bears the name of "Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica "a veteribus scripta," and was published at Frankfurt. It has ever since been one of the chief authorities for certain portions of Edward's history, but its exact position as to date and authorship is somewhat indeterminate, and I am not able in this edition to throw any new or decisive light upon it. I have indeed printed the tract rather in the idea of making it an appendix to the other and more valuable works which it accompanies, than with the thought of defending its authenticity or originality. A few pages will suffice to place the reader in possession of what can be said to be known about it.

IV. The *Vita et Mors* ascribed to Sir Thomas de la Moore.

In the year 1347 a certain clerk, possibly a canon, of Osney, named Geoffrey le Baker, who describes himself as of Swinbrook, in Oxfordshire, wrote a short chronicle at the request of Sir Thomas de la More. This is a very scanty abstract of universal history, from the creation to the year of writing, in which the dates of the several events recorded are defined not only by the years of the eras, first of the world and then of the Incarnation, but by their distance from the year 1347; as for example, the death of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1065, is marked also 282; the battle of Bannockburn, 33; the creation of the six earls in 1336, 11. It is impossible to say whether any part of this is original, but either it or the chronicle from which it was derived must have been used in the compilation of the continuation of the Barlings Chronicle above described, as contained in Mr. West's MS.[1] It also agrees very closely with the chronicle called *Eulogium*, the relation of

Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbrook and his chronicles.

[1] See above, p. xli.

Date of Geoffrey le Baker and Sir Thomas de la Moore.

which to West's MS. has been already examined. This little work is of importance, however, here only as showing that the date of Geoffrey le Baker and Sir Thomas de la More is sufficiently well fixed. Besides this, Geoffrey le Baker wrote a longer and perhaps more original chronicle, although the early portion is derived in great measure from Adam of Murimuth, extending from the year 1303 to 1356. This is preserved, apparently in the author's own manuscript, in the Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 761, and was edited in 1847 by Dr. Giles, among his *Scriptores Monastici*, together with its shorter companion. In this work the writer declares himself indebted to Sir Thomas de la More for the substance of his notices of Edward II., and even goes so far as to describe himself as a mere translator from the French work of his patron. In narrating the mission of the bishops to Kenilworth to receive the king's resignation, he uses the words, "whose company you adorned by your wise and "illustrious presence, being attached to the bishop of "Winchester; you, generous knight, who saw these "things and described them in French, whose inter- "preter after a fashion I am; you, I mean, Sir Thomas "de la More."[1] In another section he directly addresses Sir Thomas as "miles reverende,"[2] and this work may, in fact, as well as the shorter one, be said to be dedicated to Sir Thomas de la More. It is from this statement alone that we derive our knowledge that Sir Thomas wrote a French life of Edward, and the writer gives us no indication as to the extent of his own debt to the French original.

Geoffrey's debt to Sir Thomas.

Appearance of the *Vita et Mors* as the work of de la More in the reign of Elizabeth.

About two centuries after the date of Geoffrey le Baker's work a small tract was circulated in manuscript which purported by its title to be a direct translation from Sir Thomas's French memoir; "Vita et mors

[1] See below, p. 313, note 1: where, however, the word *comitivæ* should be *comitivam*, and *generosæ*, *generose*.

[2] See below, p. 316, note 1.

"Edwardi secundi Gallice conscripta a generosissimo "milite Thoma de la Moore, qui sequentium pars "nonnulla fuit, et in Latinum reducta ab alio quo-"dam ejus synchrono." At least two copies of the work exist written in Elizabethan hands, and one of them ends with an explicit, "ex vetustissimo exem-"plari quod penes Guilielmum Bowerum, et Lauren-"tius Noelus transcripserat." Whatever may have been the age of this most ancient copy, the earliest notice of its existence is derived from this note. Laurence Nowell died dean of Lichfield in 1576. William Bower or Bowyer was keeper of the Records in the Tower, in 1564 and 1567, and was a collector of manuscripts at the time. It is not clear from the words given above whether he was the owner of the ancient copy, or of Nowell's transcript, or whether the two were identical. Just at the same time the work was known to Foxe the martyrologist, who possessed the copy now in the Inner Temple Library; and to John Stowe, who, however, seems to have lent to Camden as extracts from the history of Thomas de la More a copy of the entire Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker; for in the Lansdowne MS. 229 are contained, in Camden's writing, a series of notes "ex historia Thomæ de la More quam mihi accommodavit J. Stowe, 1577," which are really derived from the larger work. We must suppose that in the twenty-six years which intervened between the date of this note and the publication of the *Anglica, Normannica*, Camden had forgotten the identity of the work which he published as Sir Thomas de la More's life of Edward with the section of the much longer chronicle which Stowe had lent him. For the so-called "Vita et Mors" is really only an extract from Geoffrey le Baker's Chronicle, abridged and slightly altered in the earlier parts, but in the latter portion so mere a copy as to have retained the direct address of the writer to Sir Thomas, which occurs in the manuscripts, but is omitted in Camden's edition.

Known to Laurence Nowell, and William Bowyer;

Foxe and Stowe.

It is a mere extract.

Camden's account of Sir Thomas de la Moore.

Before proceeding with an account of the manuscripts we may examine Camden's notice of the author of the work. This occurs among the preliminary matter prefixed to the Anglica, Normannica, and runs as follows: "Thomas " de la Moore, so far as I am able to ascertain from the " records of the ancients, was born of a knightly family in " Gloucestershire, served under Edward I. in his Scottish " wars, and, when all who held twenty librates of land " by knight service, as men called it in that age, were " ordered to be made knights, was girt with the knightly " girdle and sword and received the knightly dignity " from the same king. Afterwards when he had as an " intimate friend done faithful service at home and in " war to Edward II., and that king had been wickedly " despoiled of kingdom and life, he wrote his life and " death in French and had it translated into Latin by " Walter Baker, alias Swinborn, a canon of Osney."[1] It is possible that Camden may have found the name of Sir Thomas de la More in some list of persons knighted by Edward I., and he certainly found among the records of the reign mention of a knightly family of the name which was flourishing in Gloucestershire. But the rest of the description, and perhaps the whole of it, is a mere amplification of what Geoffrey le Baker tells us of his patron. I have been unable to find in the accessible records of the reign of Edward I. any notice whatever of Sir Thomas, and I am inclined to think that there is very little authority for what Camden has written.

Wanting in authority.

[1] "*Vita Thomæ de la Moore.* " Thomas de la Moore, quantum ex " veterum monimentis investigare " possum, equestri familia natus in " comitatu Gloucestrensi, meruit " sub Edwardo primo Angliæ rege " in bellis Scoticis, cumque singuli " qui viginti libratas terrarum, ut " eo seculo loquebantur, per servi- " tium militare, milites fieri jube- " rentur, militari cingulo et gladio " cinctus equestrem dignitatem ab " eodem rege accepit. Postea cum " regi Edwardo secundo filio ejus " intimus domi bellique fidelem " operam præstitisset, cumque ille " et regno et vita immani cum sce- " lere spoliatus esset, ejus vitam et " mortem Gallice scripsit, et in La- " tinam linguam a Gualtero Baker " alias Swinborn, canonico Osnei- " ensi converti curavit." Camden, *Anglica*, &c., ed. 1603.

Sir Robert Atkyns, the historian of Gloucestershire, had, however, no such misgiving; he recognised Sir Thomas as a Gloucestershire man, and gave him a place in the pedigree of the knightly family which in the fourteenth century possessed Eldland or Oldland in the parish of Bitton. Richard de la More of Eldland held half a knight's fee in Bitton in 1277 and 1282, and was knight of the shire for Gloucester in 1290. He died in the twentieth year of Edward I. So much is known of him from the records of the reign,[1] and Atkyns describes Sir Thomas as his son: "Thomas de la Moore, his son, "succeeded him. He had twenty pounds a year in land "and was made a knight by king Edward I. He lived "in the court of king Edward II. and wrote a faithful "history of the life and death of that king which is "now extant."[2] This account of Sir Thomas[3] was accepted by Tanner,[3] and has, so far as I know, never been questioned. Sir Robert Atkyns pursues the history of Eldland through five generations of Mores, Stephen, who held it the second year of Edward III., Walter in the fourteenth, and John in the twenty-third. Obviously there was a somewhat rapid succession. On examining, however, the *Calendarium Genealogicum* and the printed calendar of *Inquisitiones post mortem*, we find that Atkyns's identification of Sir Thomas is not only not proved, but so thoroughly disproved that scarcely any place can be made for him in the family pedigree. He was not the son of Richard de la More, who died in 1292, for Richard left no son, and the question of his succession had to be tried by jury. The

Sir Thomas adopted as a Gloucestershire worthy;

and a pedigree assigned to him.

The identification, a mere inference, and erroneous.

[1] Palgrave, Parl. Writs, i. 22, 205, 211, 212, 234, 242, 746.

[2] Atkyns, Gloucestershire, p. 287; the statement is copied word for word in Rudder's Gloucestershire.

[3] Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 531. Wharton (in Cave's Hist. Lit., p. 20) follows Camden's statement, but without mentioning Gloucestershire as the county which gave birth to Sir Thomas.

No place for Sir Thomas in the Gloucestershire family.

jurors on the inquisition found that Bartholomew de la More, of Bitton, was twice married; by his first wife he had a son named Nicolas who married and left a son named John. By a second wife Bartholomew had two sons, Richard the defunct, who died without heir male of his body, and Bartholomew who left a son called Stephen. The jurors were unable to decide whether John or Stephen was the heir of Richard, and the king, on the 27th of June, ordered the escheator to commit the custody of the lands to Stephen until John's claims were discussed in the king's court; on the 30th of April in the following year John was summoned to answer Stephen.[1] Stephen certainly succeeded and held Eldland until his death in 1328. He performed regular service in Wales and Scotland under Edward II., represented Gloucestershire in the parliaments or parliamentary assemblies of 1316 and 1324, and, unless he is confounded with another person of the same name, was taken prisoner by the king at Leeds Castle, in 1321.[2] His successor at Eldland is called in the *Inquisitiones* William, and William's son John held the lands in the twenty-third year of Edward III.[3] There is thus no room for Sir Thomas as lord of Eldland. Two persons of the name are mentioned in the Parliamentary Writs, published by Palgrave, one as manucaptor for the burgess returned for Weobley in 1306,[4] the other as attending an array in Suffolk in 1326,[5] neither of them of course bearing the designation of knight. It is then just possible, within the verge of possibility, that Sir Thomas may have been a younger son of Stephen de la More. I am, however, inclined to look for him nearer to the home of his friend Geoffrey le Baker.

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[1] Calendarium Genealogicum, p. 436.

[2] Parl. Writs, Alphabetical Digest, pp. 1194, 1195.

[3] Inquisitiones post mortem, Calendar, vol. i. p. 108; vol. ii. pp. 15, 92, 157.

[4] Parl. Writs. i. 170, 747.

[5] Parl. Writs, II. i. 747.

Swinbrook is a village in Oxfordshire, in the hundred of Chadlington. In the same hundred was a place called Mora or Moor, now known as Northmoor. In this place, in the seventh year of Edward I., one John, son of Stephen de la Mora, held thirty acres of land, a mill, and a passage over the Thames, under the prior of Deerhurst, the tenant in chief, by annual payment of 53*s.* and 4*d.* and suit at the hundred court of Chadlington.[1] The family of De la More continued to flourish at Northmoor, for Anthony Wood found there fragments of their sepulchral monuments,[2] and evidence of their coat armour, argent a fesse dancettee gobony gules and sable between three mullets gules.[3] Now in the first two parliaments of 1340 Sir Thomas de la More sat as knight of the shire for Oxfordshire[4] and was a member of the great committee appointed in the second session to sit from day to day until the business was finished and the petitions turned into a statute.[5] He was evidently a person of great consideration, was again elected in 1343 and 1351, and thus outlived the great plague.[6] He may safely be identified with the patron of Geoffrey le Baker. I shall not venture to identify him with Sir Thomas de la More[7] who in 1370 was constable or vice-warden of Porchester Castle under the earl of Arundel, although, supposing him to have been a young esquire in the service of bishop Stratford in 1326, he may easily be supposed to have survived until the close of the reign of Edward III. Sir Thomas de la More, or de la Mare, who

The de la Mores of Northmoor, in Oxfordshire.

Sir Thomas de la More knight of the shire for Oxford.

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[1] Rotuli Hundredorum, ii. 732.

[2] Wood MS.

[3] Turner, Visitation of Oxfordshire, p. 6.

[4] Return of Members, pp. 129, 131, 137, 149.

[5] Rolls of Parliament, ii. 113.

[6] See p. 317, below. He was probably alive in 1356, when Geoffrey's longer chronicle ends.

[7] See the Issue Roll, published by Mr. Devon, pp. 5, 243, 372, 424, and Fœdera, iii. 880.

The De la Mares of Aldermaston.

was sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1370[1] and is in the published list of sheriffs domiciled at Aldermaston in Berkshire, may have been a member of the same family. Aldermaston was in 1345 still in the hands of the Achards, and I am not able to say at what date it passed to the family of De la More or De la Mare, or whether that family took its name from Northmoor. I venture, however, to suggest with some confidence that it is in this direction we should look for more evidence touching the reverend knight to whose testimony in 1347 Geoffrey le Baker appealed; and I have no doubt whatever that the knight of the shire of 1340 was the same person.

Geoffrey le Baker.

Of Geoffrey nothing more is known. Camden indeed calls him a canon of Osney, but he describes himself as a clerk, and I am not sure that, if he had been a canon regular of the order of S. Augustine, he would have called himself by a name which implies a secular rather than a regular profession. We know from his own writings that both he and his patron survived the great plague, and were alive in 1356; that Geoffrey used Thomas's French Memoir in the composition of his chronicle; that Thomas was a knight who, in attendance on bishop Stratford, had visited the dethroned king at Kenilworth in January 1327; and that Geoffrey's account of Edward was written after the great plague thirty years after the king's death.

The extant work a mere extract.

I think that there need be no doubt that, whatever may have become of the French work of Sir Thomas de la More, we have, in the tract as printed by Camden, only an abstract and extract from Geoffrey le Baker,

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[1] Called Sir Thomas de la Mare of Aldermaston in Mr. Davenport's list of Lords Lieutenant and High Sheriffs, p. 20; but the family is, in Ashmole's Berkshire, called De la More. The returns, which give Thomas de la Mare as knight of the shire for Berks in 1379 (p. 201), confirm Mr. Davenport's reading: cf. pp. 207, 210, 214.

arranged on a possible conjecture of the identity of the Latin text with a French original. But it is not a mere abridgment; there are considerable omissions and verbal modifications, although there is no addition of the smallest importance. Camden's text however does not exactly represent the manuscripts known as containing Sir Thomas de la Moore's work, for it omits the references to him as author and patron, and in some places substitutes a classical Latin word for the word used both by Geoffrey and the abbreviator. One or two instances will show this. Blakelawe is given by Camden as the place of Gaveston's execution, Gaversiche is the reading of Geoffrey and of the Harleian and Petyt MSS. At. p. 305 Camden substitutes *fratre* for the *germano* of the MS.; at p. 314, *victurum* for *minari;* at p. 316, *excogitarunt* for *ingeniati sunt;* at p. 317 *punctuata* for *accentuata.* In all these and a few like cases Geoffrey le Baker has the reading of the manuscripts.

Character of the abridgment.

Camden's treatment of it.

These manuscripts, however, do not always agree with Geoffrey. They describe Gaveston as *Italus* where he has a blank for the word to designate the nationality of the favourite; and they frequently describe Walter de Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, as Willelmus. It is, however, of little use to go into minute particulars on this point. A careful collation shows that, whilst for the early years of the reign the text of Geoffrey has been a good deal retrenched, for the later years and for the catastrophe it is reproduced with some approach to accuracy.

Variations of reading.

It is by no means impossible that the original French of Thomas de la Moore may still be extant. But no trace of it has as yet been found, and it may prevent some future disappointment if I add that the ordinary title given in the manuscripts to the Latin life, as "Gallice conscripta," or "Gallico sermone scripta," and then "in Latinum reducta" may lead to a wild goose chace. Such at least has been my own experience; the

The original French work not to be found.

"Gallice conscripta" is so suggestive of a French original that one is apt to forget that it is only a part of the ordinary title of the book.

The manuscripts used in this edition.

The manuscripts which have been used for this edition require no lengthened description, and as they furnish no various readings of any importance it is of no use to go into exact detail respecting them. The first is found in the Cottonian MS. Vitellius E. 5, folios 261–270. It is written in a fair round Elizabethan hand. The same volume, which is a collection of notes and transcripts, contains in the same hand a copy of Marlborough's extracts from the Polychronicon. I have not succeeded in discovering the writer, unless the following slight indication should be considered to point to a well known historical student of the age. In the colophon, describing the text as derived from Laurence Nowell's transcript, the scribe has ornamented the last line with a shield, which, unless intended for a mere flourish, bears the heraldic interpretation of argent, four fusils in pale sable. This is the cognizance borne by families of the name of Daniel. Samuel Daniel, the author of the first comprehensive history of medieval England, was born in 1562, matriculated at Oxford in 1579, published his history in 1613 and 1618, and died in 1619.[1] We know from his account of the reign of Edward II. that he was well acquainted with the work ascribed to Thomas de la Moore.[2] Curiously enough, in his will, of which Dr. Bliss, in the Athenæ Oxonienses[3] has given an abstract, he leaves a legacy to Susan Boure. Supposing then that Samuel Daniel bore the arms in question, and both by birth and by position at

The Cotton MS. Vitellius. E. 5.

Possibly the property of Daniel.

[1] Wood's Athenæ, i. 379, 380; Bliss's Wood, ii. 272.

[2] In particular I may refer to the story of the shaving in ditch water, and other tortures inflicted on Edward II.; and the execution of John Daniel and Thomas Micheldever or Micheldene. See the reprint of Daniel in Kennett's *Complete History*, i. 212; below, pp. 312, 316.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 272.

court he must have been qualified to bear arms, and supposing that he was connected with the family of Bowyer, this copy may have been made by him from the original draft of Laurence Nowell whilst in William Bowyer's hands. The interest, however, of the Cottonian volume, in reference to our subject, does not end here. It contains, in a hand quite different and in a quire which has no organic connexion with the one just described, a series of notes taken from Thomas de la Moore, "who wrought this history in French, being turned "into Latin by one who lived in his tyme, taken out "of a copy written by Laurence Nowell."[1] These are followed by another series of notes on Irish History, and then by "Cronicha Glaston. collecta per Laurentium Noellum sua propria manu scripta," being a copy taken from Nowell's manuscript by Francis Thynne, and dated "7 Octobris A.D. 1592, in domo Willelmi Lambard armigeri apud Halling in Kantia."[2] Lambard, as it is hardly necessary to say, was the eminent scholar and antiquary to whom we owe the Archaionomia, Archeion, and Eirenarcha. He was a pupil of Laurence Nowell, under whom he studied in Lincoln's Inn, and he was later in life keeper of the Records in the Tower, to which office he was appointed in 1601.[3] William Bowyer, it will be remembered, was a holder of the same office. Thynne was a great antiquary and herald, a friend and helper also of Camden, and a commoner of Magdalen College at the very time at which Daniel was a commoner of Magdalen Hall.[4]

Connexion of Daniel with Bowyer.

Francis Thynne, William Lambard, Laurence Nowell, and William Bowyer.

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[1] MS. Vitellius, E. 5, fo. 143–fo. 144 v°.

[2] MS. Vitellius E. 5, fo. 147. These notes are not, as has been supposed, in Nowell's hand, but in Thynne's. MS. Vitellius D. 7, which has likewise been regarded as Nowell's, is really Jocelin's, as is Vitellius E. 14. See Churton's Life of Alex. Nowell, p. 237.

[3] Hearne, Curious Discourses, ii. 436.

[4] Wood, Athenæ, i. 319, 320; Hearne, Curious Discourses, ii. 444–447.

Laurence Nowell.

All the circumstances noted in connexion with this MS. point to the same cluster of names, and that cluster has its centre in Laurence Nowell. Laurence Nowell was a brother of the more famous Alexander Nowell, dean of S. Paul's, and, although dean of Lichfield, seems to have lived a good deal in London, where he cultivated historical antiquities and the Anglo-Saxon language with great success. He was indeed almost the founder of the Elizabethan school of Anglo-Saxon students, and as the instructor of Lambarde laid posterity under a great obligation. William Bowyer, or Bower, the owner of the MS. which he transcribed, was, as has been noticed, keeper of the Records in the Tower,[1] and the owner of more than one precious manuscript. The Bodleian Register of prior Molash of Canterbury[2] bears on its first page the inscription "Sum "Guilielmi Bowyer," and the same appears on the small chronicle wrongly assigned to Hugh Hoveden in the Harleian MS. 3776. As keeper of the Records he compiled a short abridgment of the Patent Rolls, now MS. Additional 5511.[3] He also was one of the early members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries.[4] It is certain that there was a close connexion between the Nowells and the Sussex family of Bowyer. Alexander Nowell, dean of S. Paul's, was twice married, and on each occasion to a widow with a family.[5] His first wife, to whom he must have been married before 1561, was Joan, daughter and coheir of Robert Merry of Hertford, and widow of Thomas Bowyer of London.[6] She died in 1579, and her husband, who survived to marry another

Connexion of the Nowells and Bowyers.

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[1] Calendar of Domestic State Papers of Queen Elizabeth, 1547–1580, pp. 234, 290–293, 298.

[2] MS. Tanner, clxv.

[3] Index of Addl. MSS., p. 55.

[4] Hearne, Curious Discourses, ii. 423.

[5] Churton, Life of Alexander Nowell, p. 352. His second wife, called Elizabeth Hast in Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees, had been wife first to Lawrence Ball, and secondly to Thomas Blount.

[6] Dallaway, Hist. of Western Sussex, pp. 60, 61.

lady as third husband, lived until 1602. In his will he excused himself for not leaving anything to his first wife's children, but bequeathed to his friend, Thomas Bowyer, Esquire, of the Middle Temple, five pounds to buy a ring, and ten books at his own selection.[1] Francis Bowyer, by whose assistance Nowell was enabled to escape from the hands of Bonner in the early days of the Marian persecution, and who was sheriff of London in 1577, was a member of the same family, and Mrs. Nowell's nephew by marriage.[2] I am not able to say whether William Bowyer, the keeper of the Records, was a member of the same family, but it is not improbable that such was the case.[3] Certainly the later Bowyers, whatever their family connexions may have been, kept up their interest in history; Fuller dedicates to Thomas Bowyer, Esquire, of the Old Jewry, merchant, a part of his Church History; and Robert Bowyer is well known as the sworn clerk of the Parliament who in 1609 drew up the journal of both Houses from the first year of Henry VIII. to the seventh year of Edward VI., now among the Cotton MSS. We have strayed too far from the subject in hand. It is, however, curious to trace within how small a ring of antiquarian friends and relations the work of Sir Thomas de la More gains its first formal recognition. The Bowyers are kinsfolk of the Nowells; Lawrence Nowell is the tutor of Lambarde; Lambarde shows his MSS. to Thynne; Thynne is Lancaster Herald, whilst Camden is Clarencieux; Camden borrows the same book from Stowe; Daniel is a contemporary of Thynne at Oxford, and

Alexander Nowell and the Bowyers.

The Bowyers as antiquaries.

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[1] Churton, Life of Nowell, p. 353.

[2] Churton, Life of A. Nowell, p. 20.

[3] The Additional MS. 12,504 contains a case concerning the leases granted in 1568 or 1569 by Dean Nowell, his wife Joan, and his stepson Thomas Bowyer, of the farm of Runckton, in Sussex. The seat of the family was at Laythorne, in the parish of North Mundham. Thomas Bowyer, Mrs. Nowell's grandson, was made a baronet in 1634.

possibly also connected with the Bowyers; Foxe the friend and ally of the two puritan deans is the owner of the second copy of the manuscript.

The Petyt MS. in the Inner Temple.

This second manuscript, which is of very much the same character, date, and hand, is among Petyt's collections[1] in the Library of the Inner Temple, contained in a volume numbered Petyt 47, folios 303–314. It is possibly the oldest of the manuscripts which I have seen, but is a transcript, not the original abstract or Laurence Nowell's first copy. It contains, moreover, no reference to Nowell, and may be an entirely independent transcript of the MS. that Nowell used: possibly it may be Nowell's own. An early owner has added to the title after the name of Thomas de la Moore, "qui se-" quentium pars nonnulla fuit, et in Latinum reducta "ab alio quodam ejus sinchrono." He also recommends the future inquirer to look at Bale, cent. v., "et com-" peries quemdam Stephanum Eiton hæc eadem scrip-" sisse." But this is marked for erasure, probably by some one who found that the work described by Bale as Stephen Eiton's was incorporated in its integrity in the chronicle of Thomas Walsingham.[2] The curious description of Gaveston as an Italian by birth may possibly be accounted for by the difficulty which the scribe has had in determining whether the right reading was "Italus" or "ista." The original work of Geoffrey le Baker, from which the original compiler was copying, leaves a blank for the word; it is possible that in the original abstract the writer had inserted "itaque," as is so commonly done in hagiographies at the

[1] Appendix to the Second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, pp. 151, 155; "MSS. out of John "Fox his study." Catalogue of Petyt's MSS. by Jo. Blew, Sept. 21, 1716:—"MS. 47, fo. 303. "Vita et mors regis Edwardi "secundi Gallico sermone con-" scripta a generosissimo milite "Thoma de la Moore, et in Lati-" num reducta ab alio quodam ejus "sunchrono."

[2] Hardy, Catalogue of Materials, iii. 368, 393.

opening of the narrative parts, and finding a blank in his exemplar had left a blank after *itaque*, which a more impatient transcriber had turned by a happy emendation first into *ista*, and on second thoughts into *Italus*. Another variation occurs in the spelling of the English words recorded as spoken by the attendants of Edward II. on the miserable journey to Berkeley. Where Geoffrey le Baker has "Avant, sire kinge," Camden's edition reads "Fare forth, syr kynge," the Petyt MS. "Fare forth, sier cinig." These are the only variations of any significance, but there are one or two peculiarities of spelling: Langdon at p. 307 is spelled Legendon; and Gaversike, for which at p. 298 Camden and the Vitellius MS. have Blacklawe, appears as Gaversiche. The writer has been also uncertain, as were the other copyists, whether bishop Stapleton was named William or Walter. He seems, moreover, to have determinedly called bishop Orlton *Torleron;* in one place Despenser is written De Spensier; and there are a great many false readings of terminations. The MS., though old, is not valuable as an authority. This manuscript was one of the twenty-three articles in John Foxe's study which were incorporated in Petyt's collection.

Gaveston described as Italus.

Small variations of reading.

The third manuscript, Harleian 310, is also of the reign of Elizabeth, but is written in a tall, pointed hand of the character sometimes called Italian, and strikingly different from the formal round hand of the other two MSS. It has several small variations and some corrections, which have probably been introduced after collation with the other copies. In some respects, as in the reading of Gaversiche for Blacklaw, it resembles Camden's edition less closely than the Vitellius MS., but the differences are very slight.

The MS. Harl. 310.

Another copy of this work was formerly in the hands Sir Nicolas Jekyll, in whose catalogue it was numbered 81. Jekyll's MSS. became the property of Mr. Holman,

Another copy lost.

Holman's MSS. went to Mr. Morant, Morant's to Mr. Astle, Astle's to Stowe, and the Stowe MSS. to Ashburnham. None of the catalogues of the later collections contain any mention of this copy after it was in Holman's hands. Mr. Macray, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of its existence, was inclined to think that on the "Gallice conscripta" of the recorded title some hope might be founded of recovering Sir Thomas de la Moore's French original. But I see no reason to think that the words have more significance in this case than in the others. Anyhow the MS. is not to be found.

The Bodleian MS. of Geoffrey le Baker.

The Bodleian MS. from which Dr. Giles edited Geoffrey le Baker, and which I have collated with Camden's text for this edition, is numbered Bodl. 761. It is a large paper volume of very miscellaneous contents, comprising a medical treatise dedicated to Johanna countess of Hereford, A.D. 1408, copies of medical prescriptions, and papal bulls. The longer chronicle begins on folio 99 and extends to folio 145 verso; the shorter begins on folio 149 and ends on folio 156. On folio 160 begins a copy of the *Speculum of Brunellus*, by Nigel Wireker, which is followed by some French poetry; "Chier "ami relevez de moy, un beau present qe vous envoy, "non pas dor ne de argent, etc." At folio 184, "Anno "D. 1347 facta est quædam visio in claustro Cister-"ciensis ordinis Tripoli—quidam monachus celebravit "missam coram abbate suo uno ministro præsente; "inter ablutionem et communionem missæ apparuit "quædam manus scribens super corporale"—certain prophecies follow. At folio 187 occur some bulls of John XXII., dated at Avignon in the seventh and ninth years of his pontificate, and the last article on folio 195 is "de la progenie des Soldans et du Caliphe." Great part of the volume is in the same hand, which, if not Geoffrey le Baker's own, must be that of an early transcriber.

The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker is founded upon the Chronicle of Adam of Murimuth. A careful examination of the early years of both show that the former writer began his work at the same point, the year 1303, and followed implicitly the corrupt computation of his predecessor, who, by beginning the year at Michaelmas, has contrived to throw all events that happened between January and October one full year behind the true date. This practice, which is undoubtedly peculiar to Adam of Murimuth, coupled with the coincidence of the initial date, would be sufficient to mark Geoffrey as the copyist, even if we distrusted Adam's assertion of the originality of his own memoranda. Both probably were Oxfordshire men, and Fifield, the lordship of the house of Murimuth, lay, like Geoffrey's home at Swinbrook, within the hundred of Chadlington. There is no improbability in supposing that Geoffrey was one of the first readers of Adam's chronicle. The year 1347, in which Geoffrey began to write, is also the year in which the *textus receptus* of Adam's chronicle ends. It is not now the time to inquire what is the state of Murimuth's text, or what is the exact point at which his personal labours closed; some discussion of the latter point has been attempted in the preface to the first volume of this work; the former must wait until all the manuscripts which bear the name of Murimuth have been more critically examined. It is enough for our present purpose to note that from 1303 to 1340 Adam supplies the chronological string on which Geoffrey's facts are arranged, and even considerable portions of the wording of his narrative. Geoffrey, however, adds very largely to Murimuth, and more largely as he approaches his own time of writing. It is to him, through the medium of Stowe, that we owe many of the picturesque details of the early years of Edward III. as well as of the tragedy of Edward II. And he utilised the labours of other contemporaries and eye-witnesses besides Sir

Account of Geoffrey's Chronicle.

He follows Adam of Murimuth's faulty chronology.

Relation to Adam of Murimuth.

Geoffrey adds to Murimuth.

How much of Geoffrey's chronicle was derived from Thomas de la Moore?

Thomas de la Moore. It is, however, with the period for which he claims Sir Thomas as his authority that we have now alone to do. It would be possible, I think, by a very careful and literal collation of Geoffrey with Adam of Murimuth for the reign of Edward II., to determine approximately the amount of information which he drew from Sir Thomas de la Moore; and I am not sure that it was not by some such process that the first editor of the so-called "Vita et Mors" supposed himself to be enucleating Sir Thomas's original contribution. But that editor has, as it would seem, so far modified the language of Geoffrey in the earlier parts of the work as to add a further element of confusion; he has retained, too, so much of Murimuth's language, in places, as to make it impossible without such help to maintain the continuity of the story; and he has, by the retention of the perverse chronology of Murimuth, vitiated the computation ascribed to Sir Thomas de la Moore, in one case so far as to fabricate a date for an authentic document. It will be observed that throughout the "Vita et Mors," as printed in this volume, the dates in the text are in most cases a year behind the dates in the margin. For example, the battle of Bannockburn, which was fought in June 1314, is placed in the year 1313, because Adam of Murimuth began the year at Michaelmas, and Geoffrey le Baker either condoned or never discovered the fault. The worst case in which this perversity affects the chronology of the work is the dating of the act by which Edward II. surrendered Aquitaine to his son. That act was done in September 1325, in the nineteenth year therefore of the reign.[1] Geoffey is following Murimuth and calling the year 1324; but not content with that he goes on to add the regnal year,[2] "anno

Confusion of the chronology derived from Murimuth, not from de la Moore.

[1] Fœdera, ii. 607, 608.

[2] Below, p. 307.

"decimo octavo," which, of course, is a fabricated date, inexcusable on the ground of any such crotchet as influenced the author whom he was copying. It is more important to observe this, as otherwise some doubt may be thrown on the more circumstantial details of the narrative, which we may suppose to have been obtained from Sir Thomas, on the ground that his reminiscences were so far removed from the time of the events that he has misdated them by a full year. The misdating is Geoffrey's own, caused by a blind following of Murimuth's absurd computation. Importance of this point.

The "Vita et Mors" has been so long before the world that it is quite needless for me to analyse it here or to attempt an exact estimate of its historical value. I will content myself with saying that, although filtered through the somewhat uncertain medium of Geoffrey's chronicle, and to some extent spoiled by the intermixture of Adam of Murimuth's language and chronology, I believe it to be in the main trustworthy. As I have said already, I do not altogether despair of a rediscovery of a French original, which will determine the questions on which I have perhaps spent too much space and labour. Value of the Vita et Mors.

The reign of Edward II. possesses, in its more prominent events, an extraordinary amount of tragic interest; but outside of the dramatic crisises it may be described as exceedingly dreary. There is a miserable level of political selfishness which marks without exception every public man; there is an absence of sincere feeling except in the shape of hatred and revenge; there is a profession of economic and reforming zeal which never comes into practice, and there is no great triumph of good or evil to add a moral or inspire a sympathy. This absence of inspiring topics renders certain parts of the reign simply unreadable; Character of the reign of Edward II.

The middle of the reign especially dreary.

yet there are great quantities of records which are, as a series, instructive enough, and capable of a good deal of antiquarian illustration. This is true of the whole of the reign, but especially true of the years that intervene between the death of Gaveston and the attack on the Despensers. During this period the national history may be summed up as a series of attempts made by the party of the earl of Lancaster to reduce the king to impotence, on the pretext of compelling him to observe the Ordinances; interrupted from time to time by renewals of the Scottish war, which constrained the conflicting parties to a show of reconciliation and joint action; and by a series of intrigues and counter intrigues to obtain for a party independent of the earl of Lancaster, a hold on the royal administration. The king all the time, whether working underhand against Lancaster, or acting overtly against him under the influence of a body of allies in whom he has no confidence, is gradually being thrown more and more completely and helplessly on the support of the Despensers, who finally get him entirely under their hands.

Party warfare.

Reconciliation after Gaveston's death.

Gaveston perished in June 1312; the second half of that year and the whole of the next were occupied with negotiations for reconciliation; the parties reconciled joined in the war with Robert Bruce; the battle of Bannockburn furnished Lancaster with a convincing argument of the king's incapacity and of the importance of the Ordinances. Gradually almost all power slipped out of the king's hands, and in the parliament of Lincoln held in January 1316 the earl was made chief counsellor, and restraints were placed on the action of the king, who was to undertake nothing important or arduous without the consent of the earls and barons. Edward had nothing better to do than to confirm the Ordinances, and try, by satisfying the demands of the clergy, to secure some measure of peace and some supplies of money.

Lancaster supreme in 1316.

This state of things did not continue long. The king tried to make a party of his own, and different clusters of courtiers organised themselves in parties too, to take advantage of the first opportunity that might arrive of gaining power on the pretext of freeing him. The year 1317 was a period of intrigue and private war. Lancaster, as we learn from a valuable letter preserved by the Bridlington historian,[1] had attempted, in his office of chief counsellor, to impose some new ordinances. A committee had been appointed in the Lincoln parliament to reform the administration, and of this committee, which included bishops and earls, the leading men were Lancaster himself, archbishop Reynolds who was supposed to be committed heart and soul to the king's side, and Bartholomew lord Badlesmere who was an enemy of Lancaster and only cared for the king as the fulcrum to be used for the promotion of his own ambition of governing. Ordinances were framed and were sent in writing to the king by the hands of Badlesmere and Inge the chief justice. Of course nothing was done, and the precise purport of the ordinances themselves is not now to be recovered. The earl was violently offended, and his sulky attitude strengthened the hands of the intriguing parties at the court. But matters went further. Early in 1317 the king called councils which Lancaster refused to attend.[2] He sent to the pope to ask for absolution from his oath to the Ordinances and for a sentence against the Scots. The pope declined both requests; the Ordinances were drawn up by men who could be trusted with the interests of both church and crown; the Scots were not to be condemned until the cause had been tried on its merits; if the king would devote his energies to the crusade the clergy might grant him money, not otherwise. The pope's

Intrigues of the year 1317.

New ordinances proposed.

Lancaster offended.

Edward applies to the pope.

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[1] Below, pp. 50, 51.

[2] Mon. Malmesb., below, pp. 226-228, and notes.

Intrigues against Lancaster.

advice was thrown away. The courtiers advised defiance of Lancaster and the prosecution of the Scottish war to which the great earl was known to be opposed. The earl of Warenne was now the king' confidant. By his agency the countess of Lancaster[1] was enabled to elope from her husband; and it was believed that the scheme for her abduction was contrived in royal council at Clarendon. The earl immediately began to prepare his revenge by enlisting strong forces of retainers and by collecting the barons of his party and the numerous and powerful vassals of his own five earldoms. To counteract these machinations, and to draw his own force to the north, the king issued orders for the assembly of the council at Nottingham on the twenty-first of July, followed by a summons to muster at Newcastle on the morrow of S. Lawrence, August 11. Lancaster refused to attend the council. His letter in answer to the king's remonstrance is preserved by the Bridlington annalist,[2] and the Malmesbury historian furnishes the argument which his agents offered in the court. He would not attend the council because the business to be treated of was such as according to the Ordinances could only be treated in parliament. He would however obey the summons to Newcastle. In the meantime he collected his forces at Pomfret.[3] Edward after holding the council at Nottingham took up his quarters at York on the 8th of September. For a fortnight the two rival powers watched one another; the earl refused the king's followers leave to cross the Aire at Castleford; the king did not feel strong enough to dislodge him; the bishops and barons interposed their good offices and a meeting was agreed on. The earl was told that if he attended the conference it was at the peril of life or liberty, and the

Threatenings of civil war.

Lancaster's refusal to attend a council.

The king and earl watch one another in arms.

[1] The most circumstantial account of this business is, I think, given by Hall's Continuator of Trivet, pp. 20, 21, 22.

[2] Below, pp. 50, 51.

[3] Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 230.

meeting did not take place.[1] But the autumn was wasted; on the 24th of September [2] it was determined that a parliament should be held in the following January at Lincoln where all complaints were to be satisfied, and the king marched southward, passing by Pomfret, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the earl of Pembroke, in full battle array.[3]

The king goes to the south.

Neither party had taken much by the move; the private war between Lancaster and Warenne had really broken out in Yorkshire, where Lancaster had taken the castles of his rival, and some of his riotous followers had seized Knaresborough.[4] On the 3rd of November the king issued stringent orders for peace. The parliament summoned for January was not held, being postponed by successive writs to March, and afterwards to June. The capture of Berwick by the Scots in April 1318 served for a warning of the necessity of reconciliation.

Order for peace.

Capture of Berwick.

It is at this juncture that we come upon a very extraordinary document thoroughly illustrative of the state of political morality. On the 24th of November, that is just at the moment when both Edward and the earl had put themselves decidedly in the wrong, and each had shown that he was too weak to coerce the other, a new party is formed to grasp at the reins of power. The leaders of this confederation were Badlesmere and Pembroke. Badlesmere was the open enemy of the earl of Lancaster; Pembroke, who perhaps was the king's wisest and truest friend, had never forgiven the stain thrown on his honour by the seizure of Gaveston; but he probably saw through the designs of

Confederation between Pembroke and Badlesmere.

[1] Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 230.

[2] Parl. Writs. II. i. 171.

[3] Below, p. 231; Cont. Trivet, pp. 23, 24.

[4] It will be remembered that this important honour, which was afterwards and is still a considerable member of the Duchy of Lancaster, was now in the king's hands, having fallen, with the rest of the possessions of the earldom of Cornwall, as an escheat on the death of Gaveston.

League made by indenture.

Lancaster, and had determined to head the opposition. In the curious indenture referred to, we find Roger D'Amory, the husband of one of the Gloucester heiresses, binding himself in a sum of 10,000*l.* sterling to give his whole diligence and legal influence with the king to induce him to let himself be guided and governed by the counsels of Pembroke and Badlesmere and to trust their counsels beyond all other people on earth, so far as they shall advise him to the honour and profit of himself, his crown, and his kingdom; he will himself act according to their counsels, and will not trespass against them in any point; nor will he agree to the king making grants beyond twenty pounds in land, or doing any other business of importance without their acquiescence.[1] It is possible that this agreement is one of a set by which others of the king's council formed themselves into an inner council to hold power and restrain the king's extravagance. But it is clear that the purpose of the league was hostile to Lancaster; and, although we do not know that it included the earl Warenne, and the other Gloucester claimants, we are told by the Malmesbury writer that Audley and Despenser as well as D'Amory were among the great earl's enemies.[2]

Postponement of Parliament.

The parliament called for January 27, 1318, was on the 4th of that month postponed to the 12th of March by the advice of the lords who were desirous of making terms with Lancaster. It was to have met at Lincoln, but the difficulties which led to the first postponement led to a second, and on the 3rd of March it was countermanded, to meet on the 19th of June at the same place. In the interval a council was held at Leicester,[3] to which the Bridlington writer gives the name of parliament, but which was really a conference of repre-

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[1] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 120.

[2] Below p. 235.

[3] Mon. Malmesb., p. 233; Bridling., p. 54; Parl. Writs, II. ii. 122.

sentative members of both parties attended by the chancellor.

Berwick was taken by the Scots on the 2nd of April, and the council at Leicester, which sat on the 12th, was awed into harmony. The archbishop and five bishops, three earls, twenty-eight barons, and two judges swore to maintain the Ordinances; a new scheme for general reconciliation was set on foot, and one of the terms of pacification was that the two Despensers were to be retained by the earl of Lancaster with a service of two hundred horse; prisoners were to be released and charters of pardon issued.[1] The earl of Warenne, however, was not to be pardoned for assisting in the countess of Lancaster's elopement. It was time that something should be done. The Scots had burned Northallerton and carried their devastations as far as Bolton. The king ordered the gentlemen of Yorkshire to collect the forces of the county, and prepared to go northwards himself. But the earl would not obey the summons to parliament, and on the 4th of June the king gave up the idea of holding one, recalled the summons to Lincoln, and issued writs for a military levy to meet at York on the 26th of July.[2] On the 8th of June at S. Paul's he declared himself ready to confirm the Ordinances.[3] Early in July he came to Northampton, the earl being at Tutbury.[4] The court was at Northampton from July 4th to the 4th of August, during which time the chancellor travelled backwards and forwards to negotiate a treaty of peace between the two.[5] On the 31st of July a general pardon was issued to the Lancaster

Great council at Leicester, April 1318.

Military preparations.

[1] Bridlingt., below, p. 55.

[2] Parl. Writs, II. i. 501.

[3] Annales Paulini, vol. i. p. 282; Parl. Writs, II. i. 181.

[4] The conversations between the earl and the chancellor are recorded by Knighton, c. 2535, who says that they took place at Tutbury, the head of the Derby earldom. The bishops of Norwich and Ely were the messengers, the latter being chancellor.

[5] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 123, 124.

General pacification in August 1318.

partisans,[1] and on the 14th of August the cousins met at Hathern,[2] near Loughborough, and gave each other the kiss of peace. The terms had been sealed on the 9th at Leek, in Staffordshire, and were to be submitted to a parliament which was to meet on the 20th of October at York. Any plan of a campaign against the Scots was now impracticable. The parliament met at York and confirmed the terms of what was really a surrender on the part of the king.

Terms of agreement.

Edward had been represented in the negotiations by Pembroke and Badlesmere, who may thus be understood to have made good their position in the council, with the earl of Arundel, four bishops and four barons, one of whom was Roger Mortimer.[3] These agreed that the king should confirm the Ordinances and issue the requisite pardons; and that a standing committee of council should be appointed to reside constantly with the king. Two bishops, one earl, one baron, and one banneret nominated by Lancaster, were to attend for three months at a time; what could be done without parliament they were to do, and their administration was to be reviewed by parliament. The estates at York ratified the scheme, and continued the earl's nominees in their places. The younger Despenser was also appointed or confirmed as chamberlain.[4]

Operations of 1319 and 1320.

I must pass over the two following years, during the greater part of which the king was employed in the north, the court being at York from October 1318 to January 1320, and the siege of Berwick being pressed with more ardour than vigilance. The rapid incursion

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[1] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 125.

[2] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 283; Cont. Trivet, p. 27. Knighton, c. 2534, makes the place of meeting Syroches brigge "quæ modo vocatur "Sotesbryge;" and the Bridlington writer below, p. 55, calls it "Sortebrigge juxta Lughteburghe." Possibly it is the place called Zouch-bridge in the Ordnance map, where the Soar is crossed near Hathern.

[3] Parl. Writs, II. i. 184, 185.

[4] Statutes of the Realm, i. 181.

of the Scots in September 1319, during which the archbishop with the men of Yorkshire was defeated at Myton, and which carried devastation over Airedale and Wharfedale and to the gates of Pomfret, had the effect of raising the siege of Berwick, and rousing in their bitterest form the king's suspicions of earl Thomas. The earl did indeed offer to purge himself of the charges against him,[1] but he would not attend a council which was held without a parliament. His declaration that that parliament should not be held *in cameris* [2] is perhaps the most distinct enunciation that we have of his constitutional policy. After the king's visit to France in the summer, and an uneasy parliament held in October at Westminster, the alarms of civil war began to be heard again.

Battle of Myton.

Edward's visit to France.

As I am attempting in this sketch mainly to direct attention to the material additions to our knowledge contributed by the authorities before us, I will not repeat the story of the quarrel about Gower, which seems to have thrown the younger Despenser into permanent hostility to the party supported by Lancaster. The earl himself was not directly concerned in the Glamorganshire quarrel; but, as usual, was willing to contribute to any movement of disturbance. By this time also the influence of Badlesmere had waned, and the king had yielded himself entirely to the guidance of the Despensers. It may, however, be useful here again to mark the dates of the more important incidents.

Gathering of the storm against the Despensers.

As soon as Edward returned from France, in July 1320, he summoned on the 5th of August a meeting of the lords and commons in parliament, for the 6th of October. It was well attended, but Lancaster, as usual, absented himself, and sent Nicolas Segrave as his proxy.[3] The

Parliament in October 1320.

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[1] Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 249.
[2] Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 250.
[3] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 290.

Parliament of 1320.

session was not a quiet one. Although we do not know that the question about Gower was mooted in it, the estates refused to confirm grants which the king had made to the pope's relations, and petitioned for a severe inquiry by the justices into the unlawful confederations for breach of the peace which were doing mischief in every county.[1] The session ended on the 25th of October, and on the 18th of December commissions of oyer and terminer were issued in compliance with the parliamentary petition. On the 14th of January 1321 the justices itinerant at the Tower were directed to examine into unlawful "colligations, confederations, and con- "ventions by oaths" which were known to have been formed in the city.[2] The disturbed state of Glamorganshire was now known; on the 20th the king directed a special commission for the apprehension of malefactors in Gower,[3] and on the 30th wrote to the earls of Hereford, Arundel, and Warenne, forbidding them to attend an illegal gathering which had been summoned to treat of matters touching the crown.[4] The same day the sheriffs of the northern counties were ordered to warn all men against attending unlawful meetings. It is clear therefore that the king knew what the matter in contention was, who were the chief combatants, and from what quarter they looked for assistance. As the season advanced, and matters grew more threatening, Edward prepared to go westward. He reached Gloucester late in March, and on the 28th wrote to the lord Hastings, the earl of Hereford, the two Rogers of Mortimer, the younger Despenser, John Giffard of Brimsfield, and Thomas and Maurice of Berkeley; all of them men whose names have an unhappy prominence in the later records of the reign. He has heard, he tells them, that

Disturbed state of Gower.

The king in the west, March 1321.

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[1] Fœdera, ii. 438; Rot. Parl., i. 371.

[2] Fœdera, ii. 441; Ann. Paul., vol. i. pp. 290, 291; Parl. Writs, II. ii. 154, 155.

[3] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 155.

[4] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 155.

there is war on the March, they must come to council at Gloucester on the 5th of April.[1] Two days later the king seems to have fixed on Hugh of Audley as the chief delinquent; he was specially bound to the king by covenant; he had again and again refused to obey the royal summons. He was now peremptorily ordered to appear, and the earl Marshall and justice Spigurnel were to try him.[2] The other confederates, who had ventured to write to urge the king to dismiss Despenser, or place him in the hands of Lancaster, were Roger Damory, John Mowbray, Roger Clifford, and the earl of Hereford. On the 9th of April the sentence of forfeiture was issued against Audley,[3] and about the same date the king seized the castle of S. Briavel, which belonged to Roger D'Amory, whom he had warned by a letter of the 27th March.[4] On the 21st of April he was at Bristol, whence he again wrote to warn the Berkeleys and sixty-two other great lords;[5] two days after this he set out on his return to London. He had failed to quiet the disturbance, and probably was unable to muster a force that could overawe the discontented. Before leaving Bristol, however, he wrote to the earl of Hereford, who was his brother-in-law, remonstrating with him for his disobedience in not attending the council, arguing that, as Hugh le Despenser was appointed chamberlain by the parliament, he could not properly dismiss him, and to commit him to custody would be contrary to the Great Charter, the common law of the kingdom, the Ordinances, and the coronation oath. The letter, which is sufficiently dignified, ended with a summons to council at Oxford on the 10th of May.[6] When the king reached Wallingford he issued other letters; the

Proceedings against Hugh of Audley and Roger D'Amory.

Edward fails to make peace and returns to London.

[1] Parl. Writs, II. i. 231.

[2] Parl Writs, II. ii. 158.

[3] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 158.

[4] Mon. Malmesb., p. 246; Fœdera, ii. 445.

[5] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 160.

[6] Parl. Writs, II. i. 231.

The lands of the Despensers ravaged.

council was postponed to the 17th, and Hereford and Despenser were both forbidden to continue their private war.[1] As soon, in fact, as Edward had turned eastward the confederates had overrun all Despenser's estates in Wales.[2] Hugh himself was believed to be in attendance on the king. On the 15th of May the summons was issued for the meeting of parliament on the 15th of July.[3]

Lancaster assembles his allies at Pomfret, May 24.

The hand of Lancaster, the Malmesbury writer tells us,[4] was in all this; but he had not stirred overtly. His enemy was the elder Hugh, not the younger. It is to the Bridlington annalist that we owe our most exact information about the part which the great earl was now about to take.[5] On the 24th of May, as soon, that is, as the parliamentary summons was received, he called together at his castle of Pomfret the great lords of the north country, Multon of Gilsland, Furnivall of Sheffield, the baron of Greystoke, the Deyncourts, Fitzhugh of Middleham, Percy of Topcliffe, Marmion of Tanfield, Philip Darcy, William Fitz-William, Fauconberg, Meynell, Thwing, and Constable; all these, for themselves and their retainers, agreed on a league of defence; if any one attacked the earl or any of the league all would join to punish the aggressor and to secure the peace. The covenant, which was written in French, was sealed by each of the lords.

A confederation drawn up and sealed.

Legality of this.

So far perhaps the earl had gone no further than the usage of the time, however illegal and unconstitutional, warranted; he had as much right to make an alliance offensive and defensive, as Badlesmere and D'Amory had had in 1317. The covenant which the king himself

[1] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 161.

[2] They began to ravage the estates of the son on the 6th of May; the attack on the father began in Wiltshire on June 11th, i.e., after Lancaster had declared himself. These dates are given in the petition for the restoration of the Despensers in 1398, from the petition of 1322; Rot. Parl., III. 361, 362.

[3] Parl. Writs, II. i. 234.

[4] Below, p. 257.

[5] Below, p. 61.

had made with Hugh of Audley was distinctly a party or personal covenant superadded on the feudal relation, or on the right of the king to the allegiance of his subject. Hugh le Despenser, as we learn from Dugdale,[1] had a similar covenant with the earl of Louth, and it was by an attempt to draw in John Giffard to such a confederation that he laid himself open to the charge on which the first article of his condemnation was framed.[2] But the earl's next proceeding was very strange. He summoned the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and the other prelates of the province to meet at Sherburn in Elmet, on the 28th of June;[3] and at the same time invited the chief of the malcontent lords, who had been harrying the estates of the Despensers, to meet them. In a word he tried to bring together a parliament of his own, prelates, barons, bannerets, and knights.

Other examples.

Lancaster assembles the clergy at Sherburn in Elmet, June 28.

At Sherburn then, which is a village about halfway between Pomfret and Tadcaster, dignified as being a very ancient residence of the archbishops, a very extraordinary assembly met. There was archbishop Melton, who throughout his life was a faithful friend of the king, bishop Lewis of Durham, brother of Edward's favourite Henry Beaumont, and the old bishop Halton of Carlisle, who had lived in alarms from the Scots for thirty years. What could have induced Melton to attend, unless it was the hope of being able to mediate, it is impossible to say; perhaps he felt that he could not trust the king, and that it was not wise to disappoint the earl; he certainly came and brought a considerable quota of his clergy with him. With Lancaster appeared the earls of Hereford and Angus, and a goodly number of lay lords of north and south, who were prepared to cast in their lot with them. They met in the parish

Lancaster's parliament at Sherburn

[1] Baronage, p. 391.
[2] Statutes of the Realm, i. 182.
[3] Bridlingt., below, p. 62.

Proceedings at Sherburn. church, and the proceedings opened as in parliament by the reading of articles at the earl's command. The articles were in French, and included the agreement concluded at Pomfret in the preceding month, with a statement of grievances to be discussed and if possible provided with remedies. The grievances were the bad ministers who were appointed contrary to the Ordinances; the banishments and forfeitures which had been decreed without assent of peers; the visitation of the special commissions for putting down conspiracies; the action of the justices itinerant at London on the writ *Quo warranto;* the abuses of the staple, and the imprudent treaties made with foreign nations. It was also declared that the king had too many lawyers about him, so many in fact that the persons whom the court wanted to implead had the greatest difficulty in finding advocates to undertake their causes.[1] This bill of articles having been read by Sir John de Bek, acting as chancellor to the almost sovereign earl, the earl himself requested the prelates to retire and consider their answers. They left the church and held their quasi-convocation at the house of the rector. Lancaster and the lords deliberated apart. The result of the consultation was, in the chamber of the lords, a determination to adhere to Lancaster and to maintain the quarrel of the earl of Hereford and his confederates against the Despensers. This was drawn in an indenture in which were inserted the names of the earls of Lancaster and Angus and thirty-three men of rank, including some of the confederates of Pomfret, and amongst them Sir Robert of Holland, the trusted friend of Lancaster, who afterwards betrayed the good cause, and Sir William Trussel, who took the leading part four years afterwards in the deposition of the king.[2] It was by the influence of

Statement of grievances.

Separate deliberation.

Indenture of confederation.

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[1] Bridlingt., below, pp. 62–64.
[2] See the Indenture printed in Tyrrell, iii. 280.

Lancaster that the elder Hugh le Despenser was included in the accusations prosecuted against his son; and in all probability the act of condemnation, which was passed a month after in the real parliament, may have been drawn up on this occasion.

The elder Despenser attacked.

After the lords had deliberated the clergy sent in their reply, addressed to the earl as "domine reverende."[1] They expressed their sincere gratitude to the earl for the heartfelt anxiety he showed for the kingdom and country, and declared themselves willing to the utmost of their ability to join in the defence against the Scots. But further than that they were not disposed to go: as to the "motions of late set on foot," that is the political quarrel, "they humbly and devoutly supplicate your "reverend lordship and the others in company with "you, that for reverence and honour of God and holy "church, the salvation of the realm and the quiet of "the people, there be a tolerance or forbearance of the "said motions," that is a suspension of hostilities, "and "that in the next parliament concord and unity may be "ordained between our lord the king and his lieges by "peaceful considerations in Christ as to what is most "expedient. And if this be done they trust that "upon all the articles here exhibited, by the favour of "God, an opportune remedy will be ordained in the said "parliament." The answer was a good one, creditable to the religious spirit of the clergy, and a clever one, foiling the earl for a moment with his own weapon, and recommending confidence in parliament. Nor is the freedom with which it is given less creditable to the earl, who evidently might have extorted stronger expressions and promises of support. "This answer in "writing having been read before the earl, he in right "royal fashion returned special thanks to the prelates

Answer of the clergy after deliberation.

Policy of the answer.

[1] Bridlingt., below, pp. 64, 65.

"and clergy, and so having received licence to depart "all retired."

Tyrrell's account of these proceedings.

It is to the Bridlington annalist that we owe the most striking of these details, but it is most probable that either in the public records, or in some of the episcopal registries, even a fuller account may be preserved. Tyrrell in his history of England has preserved a copy of the indenture, from the register of Christ Church, Canterbury, and some of the particulars are referred to in the proceedings for setting aside the exile of the Despensers. But Tyrrell placed Sherburn[1] in Dorsetshire, a mistake corrected by Carte, who, however, extracted his list of the confederates from Tyrrell's work.[2] It is curious that Walsingham, who knew of the Sherburn gathering, but did not know where Elmet was, wrote the name so that of his editors one read Clivedon, and the other Elmedon.[3] In the popular histories of the epoch scarcely a word is found that shows any knowledge of this most curious and important episode of the struggle.

No material addition to our information between 1322 and 1326.

Our authorities do not, I think, furnish us with any new details of the parliamentary proceedings against the Despensers or of the war which followed, over and above the anecdote of the younger Hugh which is preserved by the canon of Bridlington.[4] Nor do the few particulars recorded of the king's flight from Byland to Bridlington in 1322,[5] although interesting in themselves, add anything important to our knowledge of the period. The dreary years of the Despenser government from 1322 to 1326 are unbroken by any ray of political light or poetical incident. And even when we reach the great crisis at the end of the latter year, we have to contend with a dearth of such minute detail as would give life or reality to any picture we might attempt to draw. As

[1] Hist. of England, iii. 279.
[2] Carte, Hist. Engl. ii.
[3] Walsingham, ed. Riley, i. 159.
[4] Above, p. xxx.
[5] Below, pp. 79 sq.

however, in the preface to the first volume,[1] I undertook to devote a few pages to an attempt to arrange the chronology and determine some of the local features of the revolution, at least in London, I will endeavour with the aid of the Pauline Annals and such other materials as are within reach, to fulfil the promise.

Condition of affairs in 1326.

Edward, it may be remembered, had been very much isolated since his tragic victory over earl Thomas. He had lost his faithful friend and cousin earl Aymer of Pembroke in 1324; he had sent the queen, his brother the earl of Kent, and his son Edward to France in 1325; the earl Warenne, who had been for two years in command in Gascony, had only just returned, and at no time had he shown himself a wise counsellor. Henry of Lancaster, now known as earl of Leicester, was a man of noble character, but Edward might well distrust him, as having his brother's wrongs to avenge, and a claim, as yet unsatisfied, on his brother's inheritance. The earls of Hereford and Warwick were minors, and so in a position in which the king could not obtain help from them as friends, nor strengthen himself by destroying them. The earl of Arundel was faithful but carried little weight; all the will and executive force of the government depended on the Despensers. The chancellor Baldock shared the unpopularity of the court, and archbishop Melton the treasurer, who was faithful and not unpopular, had his means of usefulness curtailed by the watchful enmity of the weak and ungenerous primate at Canterbury.[2] The leading men of the episcopal body were men who had forced themselves upon the king by means of papal intrigue or usurpation, and who attributed their loss of influence at court to the hostility of Baldock, whom they had supplanted in the way of preferment, or to the Despensers who had kept them out of their temporalities on legal pretexts. With his kinsmen alienated,

[1] Vol. i. p. lxxxv.

[2] Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 283.

Edward unable to grasp at power when he had a chance.

his great nobles in minority or retirement, his bishops untrustworthy, and his ministers unpopular, a really able king could scarcely have failed to strengthen himself by alliance with such strong political elements as were to be found in the cities and in the country party which in the next reign showed itself so strong. There is indeed some evidence that Edward had tried to propitiate the Londoners,[1] and we can scarcely think that the Despensers had so entirely lost their heads as not to have attempted to create a party of personal adherents. But the result shows that if they had done so the attempt had failed.

The position of Henry of Leicester.

The earl of Leicester was son-in-law of the lady Despenser, and may have hoped by using the family connexion wisely to obtain recognition as his brother's successor; but in all these family ties at this period of history we find causes and occasions of enmity quite as often as of friendship; nor could Leicester be expected to forget that the father and son were really responsible for the death of his brother. He had a party in the great and mighty host of vassals which since the battle of Evesham had rallied round the banners of Leicester, Lancaster, Derby, and Lincoln.

Helplessness of the Despensers.

The new made earls of Winchester and Gloucester had none. Their sole source of strength seems to have been their hold on the person and will of their master, and their ability to use the little influence that still remained to him after he had lost his wife and son, sacrificed his relations to his revenge, and signally failed at Bannockburn, at Byland, and at Berwick to prove that he inherited his father's prowess. It was this helplessness and isolation that ruined him; for, though the queen's invasion was cleverly managed, and the boldness and promptitude with which her advisers acted might, so far as adroitness deserves success, have been fairly entitled to some great advantage, she had no great force nor any sound political cry. No one believed in

[1] Walsingham, i. 180.

her alleged wrongs, but she gained a following as the avenger of the earl who was more honoured in his death than in his life. She won a great victory, but it was over a foe that put in no appearance, without a battle, but not without wanton and cruel bloodshed, prolific of quarrels, vengeances, and further bloodshed, for long years to come. Easy victory of the queen.

All through the summer there had been rumours of an invasion; the king had not been put off his guard by his knowledge of the very small resources that were at his wife's disposal. He had been nervously alive to the danger, all the more as it was for long altogether uncertain on what side it was likely to come. After spending the spring at Kenilworth, and June and July in London, he had gone in August to Clarendon[1] where he had in former years spent so much time in laying out his park and improving his forest domain, and had in September been at Porchester issuing writs of array and taking other precautions. In this month he was informed where the queen was likely to land, and on the 2nd[2] directed the march of forces to Orwell, where in fact she did land three weeks later. On the 23rd of September he was in London, and there the news that she had landed on the 24th reached him on the 27th.[3] She had landed at noon near Harwich, at Colvasse, and lodged the first night at Walton.[4] She had ten ships, and the disembarkation was so rapidly effected that nine of them were cleared before sunset, the tenth was brought by the king's sailors to London, and, with the news of his wife's arrival, presented to him at the Tower.[5] He remained in London for a few days longer; was at Westminster on the 2nd of October, and on that day set out for the west,[6] Alarm of invasion. Movements of the king. The queen lands. Flight of Edward.

[1] Parl. Writs, II. Chronological Abstract, pp. 439–448.
[2] Parl. Writs, II. i. 758.
[3] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 292.
[4] Ann. Paul., vol. i. pp. 313, 314.
[5] Ibid., p. 314.
[6] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 294. Edward was at the Tower on the 28th of September.

Progress of Isabella.

leaving in the Tower his son John of Eltham, a mere child, as nominal governor, with Sir John Weston the constable.[1] Isabella marched towards London, expecting to find her husband still there, and being joined by all classes as she proceeded. At Bury St. Edmunds she borrowed 800 marks of the king's money deposited in the abbey;[2] she went on to Cambridge and stayed a day or two at Barnwell,[3] then to Baldock in Hertfordshire,[4] where she enjoyed the pleasure of plundering the chancellor's property, and then to Dunstable.[5] At Dunstable the earl of Leicester joined her.[6] On the way she must have heard that Edward had left London. She then turned westward and passed on to Oxford, where she laid her cause before the University in a sermon preached by bishop Orlton, on the text "Caput meum "doleo."[7] From Oxford she went to Wallingford,[8] where she was on the 15th of October, thence to Gloucester, where she was joined by Percy, Wake, and other northern lords,[9] thence to Berkeley, where she secured the allegiance of the heir of the castle by restoring to him the estate which Hugh le Despenser had seized on the ground probably of his father's treason.[10] From Berkeley she went on with a constantly increasing host of retainers to Bristol, where on the 26th of October the carnage of the revolution began.

She reaches Bristol.

Retreat of the king.

Helpless and unready the unhappy king, with his chancellor Baldock, the younger Despenser, and a few other followers, started from London on the 2nd of October. On the 10th he was at Gloucester,[11] still issuing letters of summons for the men of the districts nearest, especially those of South Wales. He had, if

[1] Walsingham, i. 183.
[2] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 314.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 315.
[6] Knighton, c. 2546.
[7] T. de la Moore, below, p. 310.
[8] Fœdera, ii. 645, 646; Twysden Scriptores, c. 2764.
[9] Walsingham, i. 183.
[10] Walsingham, i. 183.
[11] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 294, 295.

we may trust Sir Thomas de la Mòore,[1] sent a quantity of supplies to Lundy island, which he regarded as a last refuge. But, although he may before the last extremity arrived have thought of Lundy as a place of security, we can hardly think that either despairing foresight or simple cowardice was so strong in him as to suffer him to provide himself with such a resource long before. Anyhow he made for the Severn; on the 12th of October he was at Westbury,[2] on the 14th at Tintern,[3] and from the 16th to the 21st at Stroguil or Chepstow,[4] whence he sent the elder Despenser to take the command at Bristol. There the old counsellor of Edward I., the son of Simon de Montfort's justiciar, fell into the hands of his enemies and gave his life in expiation of the wrongs of Lancaster.[5]

The king's movements in his flight.

We lose sight of the king between October 21st when he was at Chepstow,[6] and October 27th when we find him at Cardiff;[7] and it is to the intervening days that we must assign the unsuccessful attempt to reach Lundy island. Unable to effect a landing he is said to have disembarked in Glamorganshire.[8] From Cardiff on the 27th and 28th he sent out letters, for he still had the chancellor and the great seal with him, to bring in the men of the neighbouring lordships. At Caerphilly, where the third and youngest Despenser was in command, on the 29th and 30th he issued commissions of array for the same districts.[9] Again we lose sight of him for nearly a week. He is found at Neath on the 5th of November

Attempt to reach Lundy.

The king at Cardiff, Caerphilly, and Neath.

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[1] Below, p. 309; Walsingham, i. 183.

[2] Parl. Writs, II. i. 760.

[3] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 295.

[4] Parl. Writs, II. i. 761; Walsingham, i. 181.

[5] Compare Ann. Paul., vol. i. pp. 317, 318; Wals., i. 183; Knighton, c. 2544; Bridlington, below, p. 87.

[6] Parl. Writs, II. ii. 296.

[7] Parl. Writs, II. i. 761.

[8] T. de la Moore, below, p. 309; Walsingham, i. 183.

[9] Fœdera, ii. 646, 647; Parl. Writs, II. i. 760–762; Walsingham, i. 183, 184.

Negotiation for the king's surrender.

still entreating aid from the men of Gower.[1] The end was now very near. The queen knew where to find her husband, for, as he had made no secret of his residence at Neath, it is needless to suppose that treachery was at work. Which of the parties opened the negotiations that ended in surrender it is impossible to say. On the 10th of November however the abbot of Neath, Rhys ap Griffith, and Edward Bohun, had letters of safe-conduct from the king as his messengers to his wife and son.[2] On the 16th he was taken at Llantrissaint,[3] having apparently made no attempt to save his friends, a fact which may seem to prove that the whole party were taken by surprise. Henry of Lancaster and Rhys ap Howel made the capture, and the prisoners, with the great seal, were delivered to the queen at Hereford on the 20th. The earl of Arundel, who was taken at Shrewsbury by John Charlton, was beheaded on the 17th,[4] and Hugh le Despenser on the 24th.

Capture of Edward and execution of his friends.

State of London.

We must, however, now turn back to London, which the king had quitted at the beginning of October, leaving his son John of Eltham and his niece the countess of Gloucester in the Tower. The city was, as usual, divided in opinion. Hamo of Chigwell had been maintained by royal influence in the mayoralty for three years in succession,[5] but Nicolas of Farringdon, the head of the rival party, was nearly as strong, and much stronger when it was known that the tide had turned. Before Edward left London Hamo had failed to get from the citizens a promise to shut out the queen, although they would undertake to shut out the foreigners;[6] as soon as it was known that the queen's cause was prevailing he lost his power altogether. The

Hamo of Chigwell the mayor.

[1] Parl. Writs, II. i. 763.

[2] Fœdera, ii. 647.

[3] Lantrosin, Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 319; Laturssan, Wals. i. 184.

[4] Bridlingt., below, p. 87.

[5] See vol. i. pp. lxxxii sq. French Chronicle of London, pp. 42, 48, 49, 51.

[6] Walsingham, i. 180.

queen had lost no time before asking the aid of the citizens. Her letters had been sent out on the 29th of September,[1] but so long as the king was in the neighbourhood the receipt of them was kept secret.[2] On the 9th of October, another letter was found at the dawn of day posted on the cross in Cheap,[3] praying the faithful Londoners to join in destroying the enemies of the land, especially Hugh le Despenser. The city was troubled, but remained quiet for nearly a week. There was a strong force of bishops in the neighbourhood, and with their counsel the mayor was able to keep peace. On the 13th, the Monday after the letter was published,[4] the poor foolish archbishop, who on the 30th of September had tried to delude the people by publishing at S. Paul's an old bull against the Scots, as if it had been directed against the queen,[5] got together at Lambeth the bishop of London, Stephen of Gravesend, Hamo of Hythe, bishop of Rochester, and bishop Cobham of Worcester, who were all three pious learned men, but not statesmen; bishop Stapleton of Exeter, who had been treasurer when the queen's estates were seized, and who was only less unpopular than the chancellor; and bishop Stratford of Winchester, who was probably committed already to the queen, and who later on was the head of the Lancaster party in the new government.[6] The archbishop proposed to hold a meeting at S. Paul's, preparatory to sending a mission of mediation; but the bishop of Rochester strongly advised him not to cross the river or attempt to enter the city. The more cautious counsels prevailed, and the debate was postponed to the Tuesday. Then again the prelates met at Lambeth. A mission

Communications from the queen.

Conduct of archbishop Reynolds.

Assembly of bishops at Lambeth.

Proposed meeting at S. Paul's.

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[1] French Chronicle, p. 51.
[2] Ibid.
[3] French Chronicle, p. 51.
[4] W. Dene, Ang. Sac. i. 366.
[5] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 315. Knighton, c. 2544, writes as if the bull so used had been duly applied for and was intended by the pope for this purpose.
[6] W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 366.

Proposed mission of mediation.

should be sent, but who would go? Bishop Stratford was willing to go—he knew that he was safe—but only if he had a companion; all declined for themselves and pressed the bishop of Rochester to go. He resolutely excused himself. In fact it was now too late. He returned to Rochester Place, near the archbishop's palace; Stratford to his house in Southwark, and the bishops of London and Exeter to their respective lodgings; bishop Gravesend probably to his house by S. Paul's, and bishop Stapleton either to the mansion which he was building on the site of the Outer Temple or to the house in Old Dean's Lane close to where Stationers' Hall and Amen Court now stand, and not far from chancellor Baldock's house of canonical residence in Ivy Lane. The bishops of London and Exeter were to meet the next morning at Blackfriars with the judges, possibly to contrive means for securing the city.[1]

Proposed session at Blackfriars.

Rising in the city.

On the 15th of October the city broke into rebellion.[2] The mayor and aldermen had gone out early to Blackfriars to meet the bishops; they were recalled by a rising of the citizens, who forced them to the Guildhall, the mayor Hamo imploring mercy with clasped hands, and only able to save himself by granting to the "commune" all that they asked, and especially undertaking to drive out of the city all enemies of the queen.[3] One unfortunate man, John le Marchal, a citizen who was regarded as a spy of the Despensers, was caught in his inn in Walbrook, dragged into Cheap, stripped and beheaded.[4] Just at this time the unfortunate bishop Stapleton, who had been visiting his new house outside Temple Bar, came riding into the city with two of his squires, William Wall, who was his nephew,[5] and John of Padington, the latter being steward of the new man-

Murder of John le Marchal.

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[1] W. Dene, Angl. Sac., i. 366: cf. Leland, Collectanea, i. 467.

[2] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 315.

[3] French Chronicle, p. 52.

[4] Ann. Paul., vol. i. pp. 315, 316; French Chronicle, p. 52.

[5] Leland, Coll., i. 463.

sion. The mob, which seems to have been disappointed not to find him at Blackfriars, was on the watch for him; and it was believed also that he intended to claim the charge of the city at the Guildhall. He entered the city by Newgate, and, on his way to the Tower, was to stay in Old Dean's Lane to take his noonday meal.[1] He had reached the church of S. Michael le Quern, which stood at the west end of Cheapside, near the cross. Hearing the cries of "Traitor! traitor!" he turned his horse and attempted to reach S. Paul's; but at the north door he was seized, dismounted, and dragged into the Cheap, through the middle of S. Paul's churchyard,[2] and there stripped and beheaded with a panade [3] or butcher's knife which one of the bystanders offered, by a certain R. de Hatfield.[4] The bishop's two squires perished with him. His body was left on the spot until evening; his head was set on the pillory [5] and afterwards sent to the queen at Bristol.[6] His house had been already plundered, and seems to have given the rioters their first taste of spoil as well as of violence; for before order was restored the chancellor's houses in Ivy Lane and Finsbury were destroyed;[7] the treasure of the unfortunate earl of Arundel, deposited at Trinity, Aldgate, was seized;[8] the chancellor's treasure at S. Paul's shared the same fate; and the banking house of the Bardi, where the Despensers' treasures were, was despoiled in the night. Other houses of rich citizens were likewise robbed.

Perilous entry of bishop Stapleton.

He is murdered in S. Paul's churchyard.

Plunder and devastation in London.

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[1] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 316; W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 366; French Chronicle, p. 52.

[2] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 316.

[3] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 350.

[4] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 345.

[5] W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 366.

[6] It is said that the queen received the head from the mayor, Hamo of Chigwell, and thanked him for it, adding that it was an excellent piece of justice. It is very improbable that Hamo did this, as he was very shortly removed from office. See Aungier's note, French Chronicle, p. 53.

[7] French Chronicle, pp. 53, 54.

[8] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 321.

Funeral rites of bishop Stapleton.

In the evening after vespers the minor canons and vicars choral of S. Paul's took courage and came with cross before them and took up the bishop's body. It remained in the church all night, and in the morning was carried to S. Clement Danes, a church standing near the bishop's new mansion, the advowson of which he had lately procured from the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre at Warwick by an exchange for Snitfield, in Warwickshire.[1] The tumult had not yet subsided; the bishop's treasurer was killed the same morning at Holywell, close to the church,[2] and the cowardly rector, John Mugg, refused to admit the mutilated corpse of his patron. The bearers were told that the bishop had died under sentence of excommunication,[3] and they fled. There stood then near S. Clements an old deserted and half-ruined church of the Holy Innocents, with a cemetery that had once belonged to the Pied Friars, a small order of mendicants which had been suppressed in 1273. Stapleton, it was said, had applied some of the materials of this church to the building of his new house;[4] if it were so, the treatment of his lifeless body was a fearful example of the punishment of sacrilege. Covered with a ragged cloth, it was deposited without service of priest or clerk, without the trouble of digging a grave, in a hole among the ruins;[5] there it remained until on the 17th of February, when the court was becoming ashamed of the outrages of the revolution, it was disinterred and taken to Exeter.[6]

Ignominious treatment of his body.

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[1] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 316; French Chron., p. 52; Leland, Collectanea, i. 468.

[2] French Chron., p. 53, note.

[3] French Chronicle, p. 52; cf. Walsingham, i. 182.

[4] Leland, Collectanea, i. 468.

[5] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 316; French Chronicle, p. 52.

[6] The Annales Paulini (p. 317) give the date of the transfer; Dr. Oliver (Exeter Cathedral, pp. 63, 68) doubts whether it was really made, as the executors' accounts do not mention it. But if it was done in consequence of a royal command, the king may have paid for it. See Boase's Register of Exeter College,

Flight of the other bishops.

The primate and his brethren may well be excused for taking timely measures to secure themselves. The noise in London on the morning of the 15th was so loud as to reach the bishop of Rochester as he sat at dinner in his house at Lambeth, and he immediately sent to his great neighbour to learn what had happened. Archbishop Reynolds had not only decamped, but had borrowed the bishop's horses and gone off to Kent without giving him warning. Poor bishop Hamo started off on foot to Lesnes, where he stayed all night; the next day he got some food at Stone, and went on to Halling. There he was told that the road to Rochester was unsafe, at all events for a bishop who was reckoned rich; he therefore took boat as far as Boxley. Next morning, having breakfasted at the abbot's grange, he got a horse and rode into Rochester, where he stayed a week, and on All Saints day entertained the bettermost folk of the neighbourhood at his table. After dinner he went to Halling, but the populace who had not been invited to the feast assembled at the church and were with difficulty prevented from plundering.[1] The trouble had by this time extended far beyond London, and the example set there of opening the prisons and releasing criminals had filled the country towns with malefactors.[2]

Adventures of the bishop of Rochester.

Release of criminals.

The archbishop joins the queen.

It is not certain that until the king was captured the weaker party among the bishops sent in their submission to the queen. Some of them had sent her money, and some, like bishop Hamo, had sent excuses for non-appearance when she was at Gloucester.[3] But it was not until the 7th of December that the archbishop at Maidstone made up his mind to desert his old pupil and indulgent lord. The bishop of Rochester tried to dis-

pref. pp. ii. 3, where March 28 is mentioned as the date of burial at Exeter.

[1] W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 366, 367.

[2] Walsingham, i. 183.

[3] W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 367.

Progress of the revolution.

suade him and refused to go with him; but he feared the queen more than the King of Heaven, and went to join her at Wallingford where bishop Stratford was already framing the articles which would justify the deposition of the king.[1] The rest of the revolutionary programme was carried through in the parliament of January 1327. The archbishop of York, with the bishops of Rochester, Carlisle, and London attempted a slight obstruction, but it was of course in vain. The archbishop of Canterbury although now numbered in the victorious party, narrowly escaped ill-treatment at the Guildhall, the Londoners who flocked together " to " see the bishops sacrifice to Mahomet "[2] apparently thinking that cowardice and ingratitude constituted no particular title to respect, although they accepted fifty casks of wine in token of reconciliation.[3]

Narrative of Sir Thomas de la Moore.

The details of the insults and tortures inflicted on the miserable king, from the day of his capture in November 1326 to his death in 1327 are known to us chiefly through the narrative of Sir Thomas de la Moore, and, being recorded full twenty years after the event, are susceptible of some criticism, if any conflicting statements can be brought against them. A conspiracy for a restoration was detected in June,[4] which probably alarmed the queen and her advisers into more cruel proceedings. On these the other contemporary writers throw little light; they must indeed have been secrets at the time and as long as Mortimer lived. We learn from bishop Orlton's defence that when in the spring of 1327 he went to Avignon[5] Edward was still at Kenilworth in the charge of the earl of Lancaster. The date of his

[1] W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 367; Knighton, c. 2764, 2765.

[2] W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 367.

[3] French Chron., p. 58; W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 367; Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 323.

[4] Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 337.

[5] Twysden, Scriptores, c. 2766. Orlton had letters of credence to the pope on the 24th of March; Fœdera, ii. 698, 699.

removal to Berkeley is given as the 3rd of April.[1] Sir Thomas mentions a period of imprisonment at Corfe Castle and at Bristol between his leaving Kenilworth and arriving at Berkeley, and tells of the miserable incident of the king being shaved with ditch water as having happened in the marshes of the Severn between Bristol and Berkeley.[2] Such at least was the story that William Bishop, who had been one of the escort, told him after the great plague of 1349, twenty-three years after it had happened.[3] According to the Peterhouse Chronicle, as abridged by Leland, it was at Corfe that Gurney and Maltravers received the order to put the king to death. The exact mode of the murder is mentioned by the same writer, and appears in the Polychronicon, which must have been finished long before de la Moore wrote.[4]

Questions as to Edward's imprisonment.

It is not to be wondered that, as the whole treatment of the king was secret, there should be a great mystery about his end. He was indeed buried at Gloucester with sufficient pomp, but there were suspicious, "marvellous" circumstances about the whole matter. In 1328 Edmund of Kent, his penitent half brother, was prevailed on to believe that he was living on the continent. Mortimer, it was inferred, had contrived the letters that induced him to take measures which were construed as treason. A few years ago there was discovered among the archives of the department of Herault a letter from Manuel Fieschi to Edward III. purporting to contain the confession of Edward II. after his escape from Berkeley and certain mysterious adventures which had ended in his finding a resting place in Italy. The letter is curiously accurate in the character of its details and contains no anachronism or inconsistent statements

Secrecy of the king's murder.

Curious letter recently discovered.

[1] Walsingham, i. 188; Knighton, c. 2551; Mon. Malmesb., from the Polychronicon; below, p. 290.

[2] Below, p. 316.

[3] Below, p. 317.

[4] See Polychr. (ed. Lumby), vol. viii. p. 324; Knighton, c. 2552; Walsingham, i. 189.

[5] Leland, Coll. i. 469.

Letter of Fieschi on the king's escape.

by which its falsehood could be distinctly proved. I am indebted for my acquaintance with it to two articles published by Mr. Bent in Macmillan's Magazine and in Notes and Queries for the year 1880. It is printed from the original in No. 37 of the Publications de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier, (December 1877,) with a translation and notes by M. A. Germain.

"In nomine Domini Amen. Ea quæ audivi ex confes-"sione patris vestri, manu propria scripsi, et propterea "ad vestri dominationem intimari curavi. Primo di-"cit quod sentiens Angliam in subversione contra "ipsum, propterea monitu matris vestræ recessit a "familia sua in castro comitis Marescali supra mare "quod vocatur Gesosta. Postea timore ductus ascen-"dit barcham unam com dominis Ugone Dispensario "et comiti Arundele et aliquibus aliis et aplicuit in "Glamorgam supra mare, et ibi fuit captus, una com "domino dicto Ugone et magistro Roberto de Bal-"doli; et fuerunt capti per dominum Henricum de "Longo Castello; et duxerunt ipsum in castro Chilon-"gurda, et alii fuerunt alibi ad loca diversa; et ibi "perdidit coronam ad requisitionem multorum. Pos-"tea subsequenter fuistis coronatus in proximiori "festo Sanctæ Mariæ de la Candelor. Ultimum mi-"serunt eum ad castrum de Berchelle. Postea fa-"mulus qui custodiebat ipsum post aliqua tempora "dixit patri vestro: Domine, dominus Thomas de "Gornay et dominus Symon d'Esberfort milites ve-"nerunt causa interficiendi vos; si placet, dabo vobis "raubas meas ut melius evadere possitis. Tunc con "dictis raubis hora quasi noctis exivit carcerem, et "dum pervenisset usque ad ultimum ostium sine re-"sistentia, quia non cognoscebatur, invenit ostiarium "dormientem, quem subito interfecit; et receptis cla-"vibus ostii, aperuit ostium, et exivit, et custos suus "qui eum custodiebat. Videntes dicti milites qui ve-"nerant ad interficiendum ipsum quod sic recesserat,

The retreat to Chepstow; landing in Glamorgan; surrender and captivity.

Arrival of Gourney and Berford to murder the king.

" dubitantes indignationem reginæ, ymo periculum
" personarum, deliberarunt istum prædictum porterium,
" extracto sibi corde, ponere in una cassia, et cor et
" corpus prædicti porterii, ut corpus patris vestri, ma-
" liciosæ reginæ præsentarunt, et ut corpus regis dictus
" porterius in Glocestari fuit sepultus. Et postquam
" exivit carceres castri antedicti fuit receptatus in
" castro de Corf con socio suo, qui custodiebat ipsum in
" carceribus, per dominum Thomam castellanum dicti
" castri ignorante domino, domino Johanne Maltraverse,
" domino dicti Thome, in quo castro secrete fuit per
" annum cum dimidio. Postea audito quod comes
" Cancii, quia dixerat eum vivere, fuerat decapitatus,
" ascendit unam navim cum dicto custode suo, et de
" voluntate et consilio dicti Thomæ qui ipsum recep-
" taverat, et transivit in Yrlandum ubi fuit per viii.
" menses. Postea dubitans ne ibi cognosceretur, re-
" cepto habitu unius heremite, redivit in Angliam, et
" aplicuit ad portum de Sandvic, et in eodem ha-
" bitu transivit mare apud Sclusam. Postea diresit
" gressus suos in Normandiam, et de Normandia ut in
" pluribus transeundo per Linguam Occitanam, venit
" Avinionem, ubi dato uno floreno uni servienti pape,
" misit per dictum servientem unam cedulam pape
" Johanni; qui papa eum ad se vocari fecit, et ipsum
" secrete tenuit honorifice ultra xv. dies. Finaliter,
" post tractatus diversos, consideratis omnibus, recepta
" licentia, ivit Parisius, et de Parisius in Braybantiam,
" de Braybantia in Coloniam ut videret iii. reges causa
" devotionis, et recedendo de Colonia per Alimaniam
" transivit, sive peresit Mediolanum in Lombardiam,
" et de Mediolano intravit quoddam heremitorium
" castri Milasci, in quo heremitorio stetit per duos
" annos cum dimidio; et quia dicto castro guerra
" supervenit, mutavit se in castro Cecinie, in alio
" heremitorio diocesis Papiensis in Lombardiam; et
" fuit in isto ultimo heremitorio per duos annos vel

The king's escape from Berkeley, and concealment at Corfe.

The earl of Kent beheaded.

The king goes to Ireland, returns to England, and then goes to Sluys.

He goes by Avignon to Paris, Cologne, and Lombardy.

He lives as a hermit in Lombardy.

"circa, semper inclusus, agendo penitentiam et Deum "pro nobis et aliis peccatoribus orando. In quorum "testimonium sigillum contemplatione vestre domina-"tionis duxi apponendum. Vester Manuel de Flisco, "domini pape notarius, devotus servitor vester." Cartul. de Mag. Reg. A. fol. 86 vo.

This letter was discovered by M. A. Germain on a leaf of the Cartulary of the ancient bishopric of Maguelonne, among the departmental archives of the Herault.[1] The Cartulary in which it was found is one drawn up in 1368 by order of Gaucelin de Deaux, bishop of Maguelone and treasurer to pope Urban V.

Examination of the letter.

The letter is extremely curious, and, whenever and however written, must have been the work of some one sufficiently well acquainted with the circumstances of the king's imprisonment, to draw up the details without giving an opening for ready refutation. It is certain, as we have seen, that the king was at Chepstow, and "Gesosta" is not an improbable form for the name to take in Italian ears. The earl of Arundel is not indeed mentioned as a partner in the flight to Lundy, but it is not impossible that he was one of the unlucky company, and that he may have left them after they landed; Henry of Lancaster was the person who captured Edward, and his companions; the king was imprisoned at Kenilworth and there deprived of his royal character; he was, after the coronation of his son on the day before Candlemas, removed to Berkeley. Thomas de Gournai was believed to have murdered him, and in 1330 was condemned as a traitor, while in the same parliament Simon of Berford was executed as an accomplice of Mortimer in his designs against the king. The two may have been sent to Berkeley to expedite the murder. Here the exact correspondence of the letter

Accuracy of the facts detailed up to a certain point.

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[1] Publications de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier, No. 37, (December 1877), pp. 118–120.

with recognised fact ceases, but the later details include no impossibilities. Edward is said to have changed dresses with his servant, to have killed the porter, and to have escaped to Corfe Castle, which was then under the command of John of Maltravers. John of Maltravers was warden of Corfe Castle on the 24th of September 1329, and for a year after. If the king lived there a year and a half, from September 1327, part of this time may have been spent under Maltravers' tenure of the office.[1] It was to Corfe Castle that the earl of Kent was induced to go in search of his brother, and there he was assured by Sir John Deverel that he was alive, part of Mortimer's scheme of alluring him to his death.[2] Thus far then the letter may be made to agree with the invented story. Supposing the king to have escaped from Corfe in the spring of 1329, and spent eight months in Ireland, to have returned to England and passed through Normandy by Languedoc to Avignon, he would find John XXII. still on the papal throne; the rest of the story is of course incapable of being subjected to a crucial test. The supposed writer, Manuel Fieschi, was a canon of York and had been archdeacon of Nottingham;[3] he may be supposed to have been personally acquainted with Edward II. There is thus in the letter itself little that could justify a charge of forgery. Yet the improbabilities that forbid us to receive it as genuine are insuperable. It is impossible that John Deverell should have acknowledged that Edward II. was alive if he had really been at Corfe in 1329. It is impossible to suppose that by accident he told the real truth to the earl of Kent, himself being ignorant of it. Such a coincidence is incredible. It is impossible that John XXII., who what-

Possibility of the latter part of the story.

Improbability of some of the details.

[1] Hutchings' Dorset, i. 504.

[2] This part of the story is best given in Barnes's Life of Edward III., pp. 39–41.

[3] Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 150, 168.

Probability that the story is a fabrication.

ever else he may have been, was a fearless and restless pope, would have kept silence as to the true character of his royal visitor. It is to the last degree improbable that Edward, especially after the report that he was alive had been in circulation, should have moved about England, France, and Italy undetected. It is by no means improbable that, like many other kings who have died mysteriously, he should become the hero of a tale of wonder; but this does not explain the existence of the letter. I can only suggest three theories to account for it: either it was part of a political trick devised in the French court at the beginning of the great war to throw discredit on Edward III. and possibly to create disaffection in England; or it was the pretended confession of some person well acquainted with the circumstances of Edward's death and probably implicated in it, who wished to secure his own safety and subsistence by counterfeiting the character; or it was the real confession of a madman. There is great difficulty in the last supposition, for there is too much true and consistent detail to have been arranged by a thoroughly disordered brain; if the first be accepted, the plan of which the letter was a part must have been so completely abortive as to be otherwise unknown, and the second supposition seems almost as improbable as the authenticity of the letter. There the fact remains, at present inexplicable.

Can it be accounted for?

In the last few pages I have put together, perhaps, no more than the careful reader would make out for himself by the perusal of Carte, or Brady, or Tyrrell; but I have tried to point out the bearing of the comparatively new material on the old story. Perhaps a personal motive has induced me to dwell upon it longer than I need have done. To a fellow and cantarist of Oriel College the memory of the founder is a subject on which some prolixity may seem excusable; I have been treading too in the footsteps of one who five hundred

years ago was canon residentiary of S. Paul's, Adam of Murimuth, and who likewise, as farmer of the manor of Navestock,[1] must have been familiar with the scene in which many years of my life were spent, and who in all probability lived very near the place at which this introduction is dated.

1, Amen Court, S. Paul's,
April 12th, 1883.

[1] This fact is an addition to our knowledge of Adam of Murimuth's life (see vol. i. pref. pp. lxi-lxvii) derived from the Archives of S. Paul's. Mr. Maxwell Lyte in his examination of the charters of the cathedral, for the Historical MSS. Commission, prints an abstract of a deed by which the Chapter demise to Adam the manor of Navestock, on the ground of his residence at S. Paul's, dated Michaelmas 1335. His house and furniture there are described in the inventory, which mentions a chess board, and a "tabularium cum aleis." Charters of S. Paul's, No. 1,100.

APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION.

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I. Extracts from the Barlings Chronicle.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xxxvi° orta est dissensio et mota guerra inter dominum papam et Fredericum imperatorem quia dominus imperator consuetudines et libertates quas antiquitus Romana ecclesia pacifice possederat conabatur adnichilare. A.D. 1252.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xxxvii° Fredericus imperator a Deo visitatus corde compuncto accessit ad dominum papam, veniam postulans de commissis et emendationem promittens, pœnitentiam sibi injungi exorans. Papa vero considerans contritionem cordis illius parvam, ut sibi videbatur, ei injunxit pœnitentiam. Imperator vero pœnitentiam pro minimo reputans ait, "Domine, si placet, confirma pœnitentiam quam animo " concepi;" et ait papa, "Quæ est illa?" "Domine, sustinebo " degens in heremo per xxx. annos, sed oro ut potestas mea sit " reddita, peracta pœnitentia." Qui concessit per litteras suas bullatas. A.D. 1253.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xxxviii° nichil, etc.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xxxix° obiit Robertus Grossetoste episcopus Lincolniensis; cui successit Henricus de Lessyngtone, vi° kalendas Aprilis. Decimæ dabantur domino regi ab omnibus viris ecclesiasticis isto anno et sequenti. A.D. 1254. Henry Lexington, bishop of Lincoln.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xl. puer Hugo crucifixus a Judæis apud Lincolniam kalendis Augusti, videlicet a Peytevino venditore et Hagino crucifigente.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xli. Ricardus comes Cornubiæ, frater ejusdem regis Henrici quarti, fuit coronatus in regem Alemanniæ. Eodem anno obiit Willelmus Longespeye junior. A.D. 1257. Richard crowned king of the Romans.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlii° nichil intitulatum est hoc anno.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xliii. Pictavenses ab Anglia exularunt.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xliiii. obiit Henricus de Lexintone episcopus Lincolniensis, cui successit magister Ricardus de Gravesende. Eodem anno magnates Angliæ fecerunt quædam A.D. 1258. Richard Gravesend.

A.D. 1258. nova statuta apud Oxoniam ad relevationem status Angliæ per justitiarios, vicecomites et alios ballivos miserabiliter depressæ, de concilio regis et cleri et populi, juramento communiter præstito de illis observandis.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlv[to] idem rex pœnituit se de juramento præstito consuetudines observandas, qui destinavit nuncium ad dominum papam et obtinuit absolvi.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlvi[to] fames valida erat per totam Angliam et Scotiam, ita quod quarterium frumenti vendebatur pro xxiiii. s. et amplius.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlvii[o] multi obierunt præ inopia cibi ita ut corpora multorum quasi in acervum colligerentur.

A.D. 1264. Capture of Northampton. Anno regis Henrici quarti xlviii[o] incepit guerra inter ipsum regem et barones propter consuetudines Oxonienses non observatas, et capta fuit civitas Northamptoniæ per dominum regem et Edwardum filium ejus, et milites nobiliores inde abducti sunt usque ad lxxi. tanquam captivi: minores autem milites et liberi homines redemerunt semet ipsos per pecuniam. Judæi Londoniis interfecti sunt per cives Londonienses usque ad xxxvii. et x. quia fecerunt ignem Græcum ad comburendam totam civitatem. Item commissum est bellum grave inter regem Henricum, Edwardum filium ejus, Ricardum comitem Cornubiæ, et quosdam alios magnates ex parte una, et Simonem de Monteforti comitem Leycestriæ, Gilbertum de Clare, comitem Gloverniæ, et quosdam alios magnates de baronibus ex altera parte, die videlicet Mercurii proximo ante festum Sancti Dunstani, apud Lewes, in quo maxima multitudo ex utraque parte occiditur, et capti sunt in bello prædicto rex Henricus et Edwardus filius ejus, comes Cornubiæ qui dicebatur rex Alemanniæ, et multi alii.

Battle of Lewes.

A.D. 1265. Surprise at Kenilworth. Anno regis Henrici quarti xlix[o] Baldewynus Wake, Willelmus de Mouncheneseie, Adam de Novo Mercato et quidam alii magnates, venientes cum Simone de Monteforti juniore versus dominum Symonem de Monteforti comitem Leycestriæ ad succursum suum, capti sunt apud Kenilworthe per dominum Edwardum filium regis Henrici et suos, die sabbati in Ad Vincula Sancti Petri, Simone de Monteforti juniore cum quinque vel sex signiferis vix evadente in castrum de Kenilworthe. Item bellum grave commissum est apud Evesham die Martis proximo post festum Sancti Petri Ad Vincula, inter dominum regem et Edwardum filium ejus et alios ex parte una, et Simonem de Monteforti comitem Leycestriæ, Henricum filium ejus, Hugonem

le Despenser et plures alios ex parte altera. In quo bello interfecti sunt miserabiliter comites Leycestriæ Simon de Monteforti, Henricus filius ejus, Hugo le Despenser, Petrus de Monteforti, Radulfus Basset de Draytone, et plures alii barones et milites quorum non est numerus. Multi barones et milites et liberi homines exheredati, adinvicem se colligentes et circuientes Angliam, prædia quorundam inimicorum suorum combusserunt, et omnia bona baronum, militum et scutariorum qui cum domino Henrico rege et Edwardo filio ejus tenuerant diripuerunt. A.D. 1265. Battle of Evesham.

Anno regis Henrici quarti l° Octobonus cardinalis et legatus venit in Angliam cum regina Angliæ. [Legatus in Anglia,] Wallia, Hibernia fecit regi dari decimam beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum tam clericorum sæcularium quam virorum religiosorum necnon et bonorum temporalium seu possessionum sanctorum religiosorum. Item bellum grave commissum est apud Cestrefeud inter barones regis Henrici et barones et milites ex altera in vigilia Pentecostes, in quo multi interfecti sunt, et Robertus comes de Ferrariis captus, Baldewynus Wake, Johannes de Dei Villa et Johannes de Haia vix evaserunt. Item castrum de Kenilworthe obsessum per Henricum regem, Edwardum et Edmundum filios ejus et Gilbertum de Clara, comitem Gloverniæ, a vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistæ usque ad vigiliam Sancti Thomæ apostoli, Henrico de Hastinge constabulario existente pro defectu cibi ipsum castrum domino regi die prædicto reddente. Multi magnates, comites et barones reddiderunt terras suas. A.D. 1266. Legation of Ottobon. Battle of Chesterfield. Siege of Kenilworth.

Anno regis Henrici quarti li° idem rex profectus est in Walliam ad expugnandam eam, sed composuit cum Lewelino tunc principe Walliæ per magnam summam pecuniæ quam dedit prædictus Lewelinus eidem domino regi. Barones cum comite Gloverniæ [intraverunt] civitatem Londoniarum et eam aliquamdiu contra regem tenuerunt. Tandem inter regem et eos exstitit pacificatio facta, et reddita fuit regi civitas. Insuper capta fuit insula Elyensis quam tenuerant barones fere per annum per dominum Edwardum filium domini regis Henrici, qui strenue, caute, nobiliter et prudenter in omnibus suis agendis se habebat. A.D. 1267. Welsh expedition. Occupation of London. Surrender of Ely.

Anno regis Henrici quarti lii° Ottobonus legatus venit Lincolniam, et ibi prædicavit iter Jerusalem in die Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ, et in die Dominica sequenti crucesignavit decanum Lincolniensem, presbiteros, clericos, laicos, quia præ- A.D. 1268. Crusade preached at Lincoln.

A.D. 1268. cepit ut de universa ecclesia Lincolniensi cum cruce, vexillis et sacris vestibus induti ad monasterium ad audiendam prædicationem; et hii interpretes, videlicet decanus Lincolniensis, W. de Lessyngtone et quidam frater de ordine Prædicatorum, et quidam frater de ordine Minorum.

A.D. 1269. Quarrel with Scotland.

Anno regis Henrici quarti liii° Edwardus filius ejus congregavit exercitum copiosum ad expugnandum regem Scotiæ propter reginam Scotiæ sororem domini Edwardi, quam rex Scotiæ incarceravit, ut dictum fuit, et veneno interfecit. Rex vero se purgavit, et omnibus pacificatis dominus Edwardus reversus est in Angliam.

A.D. 1270. Departure of Ottobon.

Anno regis Henrici quarti liiii° recessit Ottobonus legatus de Anglia.

A.D. 1271. Death of the king of the Romans. Crusade of Edward.

Anno regis Henrici quarti lv^to^ obiit Ricardus rex Alemanniæ comes Cornubiæ. Anno regis Henrici quarti lv^to^ dominus Edwardus filius suus, Johannes de Britannia, Willelmus Wallensis, Johannes de Vescy, Thomas de Clare, Reginaldus de Cliffordе, Bartholomæus Breatun, Oto de Granson, Ricardus Pochel, Robertus de Bruys, Johannes de Verdone et multi alii principes et barones cum ingenti exercitu utriusque regni iter Jerosolimorum arripuerunt.

A.D. 1272.

Anno regis Henrici quarti lvi°: toto illo anno moratus est dominus Edwardus in Terram Sanctam.

Death of Henry III.

Anno regis Henrici quarti lvii° idem rex obiit apud Londonias die Sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et sepultus est in die Sancti Edmundi regis et martyris apud Westmonasterium, domino Edwardo primogenito suo in Terra Sancta existente.

Fealty sworn to Edward I. His escape at Acre.

Anno primo regis Edwardi, illo existente in Terra Sancta, comes Gloverniæ ex consilio magnatum totius Angliæ fecit totam Angliam jurare fidelitatem domino Edwardo. Item dominus Edwardus percussus est in Accon letali vulnere quodam cultello toxicato ab uno assassinio qui erat missus a Soldano; sed gratia Dei sanitati restitutus est: ibique natus est filius ejus qui vocatur Amphunsus.

Council of Lyons.

Celebratum est concilium a domino papa Gregorio decimo apud Lugdunum Galliæ; in quo fuerunt tres sessiones tantum; in quibus celebratum fuit quod bigami nec viduarum mariti non gauderent privilegio clericali. Item quod personæ post concilium admissæ ad aliquam ecclesiam infra annum in presbiteros ordinarentur, alioquin beneficio privarentur. Item quod ordo fratrum Pœnitentiarum, id est Saccorum, om-

nino quassaretur, præter eos qui recepti sunt, remaneant dum vivunt, aut ad alium ordinem quemcunque voluerint se transferant, nec aliquem clericum sive laicum recipiant. A.D. 1272.

Anno regis Edwardi secundo. Idem rediit de Terra Sancta circa Pascha. Eodem anno coronatus est ipse et regina Alianora apud Westmonasterium a fratre Roberto de Culwardeby de ordine Prædicatorum archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Dominica prima post Assumptionem beatæ Mariæ, xiiii° kalendas Septembris. Qui statim coronam deposuit, dicens quod nunquam capiti suo resideret donec terras in unum congregaret ad coronam pertinentes quas pater suus alienavit, dando comitibus et baronibus et militibus Angliæ et alienigenis. Concessit itaque novam cartam teneri, sed nichil profuit. Hoc anno concessa est decima a papa Gregorio decimo, domino regi Edwardo; bona tamen Templariorum, Hospitaliorum, ordinis Cistertiensis, Præmonstratensis et Sempringhamensis non sunt taxata cum ceteris, sed quilibet per se finem fecit. Ordo tamen Præmonstratensis per se dedit cc. libras. A.D. 1273. Coronation of Edward I.

Anno regis Edwardi tertio idem rex permisit per totam Angliam ballivos inquirere sub juramento et in secreto de universis terris Angliæ, per Johannem de Kyrkebi thesaurarium quis quid teneret et cujus feodi, et quantum, et cujus regis tempore feoffati essent. Eodem anno ad festum Sancti Michaelis venit primo sarpedo et porrigo agnorum et ovium in Lindeseye a Waldis prout æstimabatur. A.D. 1275. Inquest into titles. Cattle plague in Lindsey.

Anno regis Edwardi quarto nichil intitulatum est, etc.

Anno regis Edwardi quinto erat communis morriana bidentum per totam Angliam. Idem rex congregavit exercitum ad expugnandam Walliam, quam obtinuit, sed non sine longa obsidione. A.D. 1277. Murrain.

Anno regis Edwardi vi. Lewelinus princeps Walliæ desponsavit filiam Simonis de Monteforti post festum Sancti Michaelis die Sancti Edwardi regis.

Anno regis Edwardi vii° tenuit concilium apud Westmonasterium post festum Sancti Hillarii, in quo conquestum est de tonsura monetæ. Itaque ex consilio regis et magnatum assensu factum est ut omnes Judæi totius Angliæ capti sunt et miserabiliter incarcerati, et domos eorum fecit scrutari per ballivos suos. Ex quibus idem rex Edwardus infinitam multitudinem monetæ et ex tonsura monetæ invenit per suas cistas et cofros et ollas plenas, quæ omnes confiscatæ sunt. A.D. 1279. Jewish money-clippers punished.

A.D. 1279. Tandem Judæi accusaverunt quam plurimos Christianos, et quot diffamati et attincti dati sunt ad suspendendum.

A.D. 1280. Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln. Anno regis Edwardi viii° obiit Ricardus de Graveshende episcopus Lincolniensis, xv° kalendas Januarii; cui successit Oliverus de Suttone. Eodem anno convocavit concilium apud Londonias post Pascha, ibique exegit a tota Anglia certam summam pecuniæ, scilicet ab universa bovata terræ totius Angliæ iiii^or denarios. In quo cum non consentirent magnates data est dilatio usque ad sequens concilium apud Oxoniam. Discontent of the barons. Sed ibi concilium celebrare barones noluerunt habentes locum suspectum. Eodem anno translatus est beatus Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus in præsentia fratris Johannis de Pecham de ordine Minorum archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, Translation of S. Hugh. domini Edwardi regis Angliæ et reginæ Alianoræ, Oliveri episcopi Lincolniensis et aliorum magnatum totius Angliæ, pridie nonas Octobres. Hoc anno mutatio monetæ.

A.D. 1281. Great frost. Anno regis Edwardi ix° erat yemps gravissima; gelu et nix duravit per vii. ebdomadas continuas a die Sancti Pauli apostoli usque ad diem Sancti Gregorii absque recessu.

A.D. 1282. Death of Matilda Longespee. Anno regis Edwardi x° natus est Edwardus filius ejus apud Karnarvan in Wallia die Sancti Marci Ewangelistæ. Eodem anno Lewelinus princeps Walliæ occiditur. Obiit Matildis Longespeye vigilia Sancti Thomæ apostoli.

II. Extracts from Hearne's Transcript; MS. Rawlinson, B. 414.

List of the abbots of Malmesbury. Sanctus Aldelmus fuit primus abbas hujus monasterii, cui successerunt Ethelardus, Cuthbertus, Daniel, Migidulphus, Fortherus, Cambrithus, Sygibrithus, Ethelardus, Kynbrithus, Ethelmodus, Ethelredus. Post istum Ethelredum monachis expulsis per regem Edwynum, clerici sæculares cœnobium pro tempore occupabant; sed Edgarus frater prædicti regis, factus rex Angliæ, expulsis sæcularibus monachos iterum instituit, quibus Alfricum monachum de Wyntonia abbatem constituit anno Domini nongentesimo septuagesimo quarto. Post Alfricum in octingentis sex annis fuerunt abbates Ethelwardus, Kynewardus, Brithelmus, Brithwoldus, Edericus, Wolsinus, Brithwoldus, quem miserabiliter obisse in codicibus reperimus;

List of the abbots of Malmesbury.

post cujus obitum Hermannus Schirbournyæ episcopus monasterium sede sua implere cogitavit, sed prævenerunt ejus conatum monachi, qui consensu Sancti Edwardi tunc regis Angliæ præfecerunt Britricum in abbatem, qui septem annos cœnobio multum profuit. Sed Willelmus conquæstor factus rex Angliæ Turaldum Fiscanensem monachum vivente Brithrico induxit, quo etiam de monasterio ejecto idem rex substituit Warinum de Lyra, qui tempore suo transtulit corpus Sancti Aldelmi. Warinus obiit tempore Willelmi Rufy, cui successit Godefridus Jemmecensis monachus, qui obiit tempore regis Henrici dicti Beauclerc; cui successit Ewolfus; quo mortuo tempore prædicti regis Henrici, Rogerus Sarisberiensis episcopus vacantem abbathiam usurpavit. Sed Stephanus rex prædictum Rogerum episcopum abbaciis et capellis privavit, et Johannem canonice electum abbatem Malmesburiæ præfecit, qui Johannes electus . . . obiit tempore regis Stephani supradicti; cui successit Petrus Morant Cluniacensis monachus, qui obiit nonas Februarii anno Domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo, et regni regis Henrici filii imperatricis septimo. Cũi successerunt Gregorius, Robertus de Veneys, medicus regis Henrici, Osbertus, qui omnes similiter obierunt tempore prædicti regis Henrici. Deinde successit Nicholaus de Sancto Albano doctor Theologiæ.

After follows the life of Edward II., which I have printed with Trokelowe.

At the end of the said life of Edward II. is this old deed:—

Malmesbury charter.

Robertus Dei gratia abbas Malmesburiensis et conventus ejusdem, omnibus filiis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, salutem. Notum sit vobis nos concessisse et hac præsenti carta nostra confirmasse Wyberto filio Willelmi unam virgatam terræ in Cherlton quæ fuit Radulfi Francigenæ pro v. s. per annum, et dimidium virgatæ terræ quam Gerinus tenuit de la Blakecroft pro ii. s. in feodo, salvo regali servitio, et unam virgatam Cherltone quam Gerinus tenuit de forestaria sicut ejus carta testatur, et dimid. hid. quam constabularius tenuit pro servitio unius servientis ad serviendum hospitibus in aula et dispensa et botularia, salvo ejus corrodio; et præterea unam virgatam terræ de tenent' de Brokenberthe juxta Kyngshey, dimid., videlicet, quæ Teodorico cognomento Bore et dimid. quæ fuit

Notes from Hearne's transcript.

Alwini Mazonis, pro franco servitio tali quale ad virgatam pertinet. Hæc omnia tenementa concedimus ei et heredibus suis tenenda de ecclesia nostra in feodo et hereditate pro servitiis prædictis salvo regali servitio.[1]

Upon the first page of the last parchment leaf—

G. Holles
meis, mihi. } 1648.

As I take it the history of Edward II. in this MS. was done by a quite different author from the rest, which seems to be extracts only from other writers. Yet both were done by some hand or hands of Malmesbury. The writing of the first part of the MS. is different for the most part from the writing of the life of Edward II. I believe they were formerly bound in two different volumes, notwithstanding bound together it may be by Sir Gervase Holles now, for one blank leaf (so I take it to have been) hath been cut out after the abbats' names, and there is now one blank leaf after that remaining, only a modern hand hath transcribed on the first page thereof the names of the abbats. The life then begins of Edward II., an illuminated great E being the first letter, without any other title than in a modern hand "Edwardus 2." I was once thinking that this life of Edwardus II. had been Hemyngford's, but Hemyngford's way of writing by chapters, putting the contents before each chapter, was different.

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[1] This charter is given in full in the Reg. de Malmesb., ed. Brewer, App. II. vol. II. p. 396, with the addition: Hiis testibus, Gaufrido de Brenkeworthe et Roberto fratre ejus, Waltero Nywentone et Ricardo ejus filio.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.

III.

COMMENDATIO LAMENTABILIS IN TRANSITU MAGNI REGIS EDWARDI.

R 1681. Wt. 582. A

COMMENDATIO LAMENTABILIS IN TRANSITU MAGNI REGIS EDWARDI.

Commendatio Lamentabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi quarti secundum Johannem de Londonia.[1]

A.D. 1307 Lamentation for Edward I.

Et factum est verbum Domini ad me dicens, Fili hominis, sume tibi librum grandem et scribe in eo lamentationes et carmen et væ, et reliqua. Ezek. ii. 10.

Præfatio in præsenti opusculo.[2]

The author's address to the queen.

Prohibemur, generosa matrona domina Margareta Dei gratia regina Angliæ,[3] divina pagina laudare hominem in vita sua, quasi ammonemur magnificare post mortem; et hoc dupplici ex causa; quando scilicet nec laudantem nocet adulatio nec laudatum temptet elatio. Sane quam plurimorum id[4] deposcit devotio, ut formam et mores magnanimi Edwardi, quondam regis Angliæ, sub certa descriptione depingam;[5] quod quidem facultatem meam excedit; ad hoc enim sufficienter et dilucide exarandum oporteret magistrum Petrum Blesensem, quondam Bathoniensem archidiaconum, ex morte resurgere, qui de diversis materiis

Ecclus. xi. 30.

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[1] MS. Lambeth 419. [L.]
MS. Cotton, Nero, D. 2. [N.]
MS. Heralds' Coll. xx. § 3. [C.]
MS. Bodl. Laud 572, ff. 217–220. [B.]
MS. Bodl. Hatton 53. [H.]

[2] From MS. C.

[3] *generosa . . . Angliæ*] O abba venerabilis Augustini, L. The prologue is wanting in MS. B.

[4] *id*] ad, H.

[5] *depingam*] deputatam, H.

A.D. 1307. The writer imitates Peter of Blois in his description of Henry II.

tribus dictare scriptoribus et uniuscujusque calamo festinanti satisfacere, seque quod de solo Julio Cæsare scribitur quartam epistolam dictare et scribere probatus est. Verumptamen "illud tantillum quod de "forma et moribus ejus ad instantiam vestram bre-"viter delibo, meæ temeritati a pluribus ascribetur;[1] "videbor[2] enim aut onus importabile præsumpsisse "aut plurimum de magnificentia tanti viri per insi-"pientiam omisisse. Ego tamen, vestræ serviens cari-"tati, quod possum facio et quod scio vestræ" devotioni "promptissima communico voluntate, atque[3] inter "ceteros magnos viros qui de laudibus domini mei "scribunt, ego cum paupere vidua minutum devo-"tionis in gazophilacium" pronus[4] "mitto." Nec reor absurdum nec a materia dissonum recitare dotes animi quibus viguit olim illustris[5] rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, vel pauca de ipso scripta huic paginæ inserere, cum in paucis admodum discrepaverint et consimilibus effloruerint virtutibus proavus et pronepos. Verum etiam per memoriale unius memoriale alterius in laude, nec scandalizaverim si dixero et majori pronepotis[6] a proavo perpetualiter eternetur.

P. Blesen. ep. 66.

Descriptio corporalis regis Edwardi.

Description of Edward's person.

Dominum autem Edwardum regem non rubeum, non fulvum, sed ex albo nigroque colore permixtum, quo colerica et longiturna denotatur complexio, noveritis extitisse; quem "colorem venerabilis senectus "et superveniens canities aliquantulum alteravit.[7]

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[1] *ascribetur*] ascribitur, H.

[2] *videbor*] videlicet, H.

[3] *atque*] semper, H. This is a quotation from Peter of Blois, ep. 66 (ed. Busæus).

[4] *pronus*] libens, L.

[5] *illustris*] Here the copy in MS. B. begins.

[6] *pronepotis*] pronepos, C.

[7] *alteravit*] alternavit, H.B. L. N.

P. Blesen. ep. 66. "Statura ejus" procera et decens singulis membris ejus, ut incedendo cum populo facies ejus superemi-nentius ceteris resplenderet, prout Saul quondam electus Domini animos inspicientium[1] regem incedentem gratius lætificaret. "Caput ejus sphericum" erat "tan-"quam sapientiæ magnæ sedes et alti consilii speciale "sacrarium. Oculi ejus orbiculati" erant "dum pla-"cati" fuit "animi simplices et columbini, sed in ira "et turbatione cordis" leonini, "tanquam scintillantes "ignem" et impetum fulminantes. "Cæsaries ejus" nigra[2] et crispa, quæ in senecta et senio "dampna "calvitii minime" verebatur.[3] "Eminentia nasi" longa et aliqualiter medio elevata, "arcuati pedes, eques-"tres tibiæ" et longæ, "thorax extensior, lacerti[4] "pugiles, virum fortem, audacem et agilem" demon-straverunt. A prima die coronationis suæ nequaquam deinceps corona redimiri passus est, librans ipsius onus amplius quam honorem. Non purpura utebatur aut cocco bistincto,[5] sed sicut unus[6] ex plebeis roba et fur-rato collobio et unicolori incessit. Unde quadam die af-fatus simpliciter a[7] quodam cœnobita, cur non uteretur regalibus vestimentis, respondit "Deus hæc attendit "et ridet. Quid amplius in illis valeo quam in istis?" Vehemens amator[8] nemorum et ferarum,[9] dum a præliis cessaret, quandoque cum canibus et accipitre animum[10] oblectavit cum hiis qui in avibus cæli ludunt.[11] Caro ejus cum nulla mole pinguedinis one-rata, neque obesus[12] carnibus extitit, sed ossibus et nervis firmissime compactus; et[13] ut palma erectus, "in

A.D. 1307. His stature, head, eyes, hair, nose, chest, and arms.

His modera-tion in dress.

His love of hunting.

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[1] *inspicientium*] insipientium, H.

[2] *nigra*] mera, H.

[3] *verebatur*] ferebatur, H.

[4] *lacerti*] latera, H.

[5] *bistincto*] bissineto, H.; bis-cinto, B. MS. L continues, "bisso, "non pileum, non capam manica-"tam, non clamidem coccineum, "quæ ad ornatum regium solum "spectant, abhorrens fastum "principum indutus est."

[6] *sicut unus*] sed eximius, H. B.

[7] *simpliciter a*] sempra, H. B.

[8] *amator*] amotor, C.

[9] *ferarum*] erat, ins. B.

[10] *animum*] avium, H.

[11] *cum . . . ludunt*] om. C.

[12] *obesus*] obesis, C.

[13] *et*] om. H.

A.D. 1307.

His green old age.

" ascendendo equum vel excurrendo levitatem adole-" scentiæ" continuavit; ac per assiduos labores naturæ superflua resecans rarissime ægrotavit. Non caligavit oculus ejus præ senecta et senio, et dentes illius a sedibus non sunt moti; neque ut aliqui reges delicati in palatio suo incuriæ vel segnitiei deditus, sed regna et "provincias" peragrans[1] "exploravit facta omnium;" sed excæcatos a muneribus "judices potissimum judi-" cans, quos constituerat judices aliorum. Nemo illo " argutior in consiliis, in eloquio torrentior, securior " in periculis, in prosperis" cautior,[2] "constantior in " adversis;" in difficilibus quæstionibus promptissimum et solertissimum dabat responsum et responsale decretum.[3] In ambiguis judiciis et causis decidendis spreta personarum acceptione, decretissimus legislator, utpote qui pauperum et injuriam patientium piissimus consolator. "Quem semel dilexit vix dedilexit, " et quem semel exosum habuit raro in gratiam " familiaritatis admisit." Nullus magnificentior in donis, non deliberans cum Antigono quid fortunæ postulantis accipere conveniret, sed melius cum Alexandro quantum deceret regalem munificentiam exhibere. In effusione pecuniæ vel expensarum illud attendens, " non est magni animi beneficium dare et perdere,[4] " sed perdere et dare magni animi est." Rex iste nunquam tristis, nisi in defunctione carorum, quorum peccata perpetuis redimens elemosinis sepulchra eorum artificiosius cunctis mortalibus decoravit, et curiosius sculpi fecit. Et, ut multa paucis concludam, quicquid regali gloriæ competeret aut honori, tam in artibus quam in moribus, in ipso potuit reperiri, quippe quia omnium justorum regum septiformis Spiritus Sancti[5] gratia plenus fuit.[6]

Deut. xxxiv. 7.

His ready eloquence.

His popular qualities.

His piety towards the dead.

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[1] *peragrans*] om. C.

[2] *cautior*] Peter of Blois writing of Henry II. uses the word *timidior*. MSS. H. and B. read *cautice*.

[3] *decretum*] directum, H.

[4] *perdere*] prodere, C.

[5] *Sancti*] om. C. N.

[6] *et . . . fuit*] om. L.

Commendatio lamentabilis domini papæ.[1] A.D. 1307.

Edwardus, rex magnificus, insuperabilis in bellis et in pace extitit gloriosus. Qui, etsi super omnia desiderabilia hujus mundi zelaret et procuraret pacem populi sui, inimicus tamen homo, sator discordiæ, guerram movit;[2] nec invenit requiem, ut possit dicere cum propheta, "Exspectavimus pacem et non venit, tempus curationis et ecce turbatio." Ad pacem populi Christiani pertinuit, quod contra Saracenos et Agarenos crucem Christi assumeret, et se in manus quærentium animam suam discrimini ultro dedit. Et nunc, filioli, super mortuum lacrymas producite, et, quasi dira passi, incipite[3] plorare, ac secundum meritum ejus multis diebus luctum facite et lamentum. Lex enim naturæ mæstuosos affectus in amissione carorum indicit. Nam et[4] Job, audita suorum morte filiorum, vestimentorum scissione et aspersione pulveris vim doloris expressit; Abraham mortuam Sarram[5] planxit; Joseph et fratres ejus patrem Jacob mortuum, et trans Jordanem delatum[6] ac sepultum, multo tempore lamentarunt. Sed, Josia rege mortuo, scriptum est quia universus Juda et Jerusalem eum planxerunt. Christus etiam Jesus amicum Lazarum, quatriduanum mortuum, e monumento lacrymando vocavit. In defunctione itaque carorum amare fletur. Et quanto quis habebatur carior, tanto amarius est deflendus. Aperiantur ergo[7] cataractæ[8] capitis nostri, et cordis nostri disrumpantur abyssi, ut super faciem Anglicanæ ecclesiæ inundet diluvium aquarum multarum. En! vox iterum in Rama audita est, ploratus et ululatus in ecclesia, luctus multus in Anglia, magnus rex Edwardus mi-

The pope's lamentation for him.

Jerem. xiv. 19.

Examples of lawful grief at the loss of friends.

2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

Jerem. xxxi. 15.

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[1] *domini papæ*] comitum et baronum, C. N.
[2] *movit*] movet, H.
[3] *incipite*] incipiente, H. B.
[4] *et*] om. H. B.
[5] *Sarram*] Saram, C. N. L.
[6] *delatum*] dilatum, H. B.
[7] *ergo*] igitur, B. N.
[8] *cataractæ*] caracteræ, H. B. N.

A.D. 1307. Grief of the Roman church for him.

gravit a sæculo, vivens cum Christo, signifer Regis regum. Heu! Rachel mærens, regina mater ecclesia renuens consolari, respuit gloriari de pulchritudine, non Noemi[1] sed Mara, id est amara, vocari precatur, Ruth, i. 20. quia amaritudine amaricavit se Deus, et viduatam tali viro, gentilitatis et injustitiæ debellatore, felle et absinthio se potavit. Sed, et mellificante[2] Domino orbem terræ in tanti regis jocunda præsentia, eo intimius murmurat inolita pululare super terram mæstificatus[3] per ejus absentiam omnis homo.

Commendatio lamentabilis regum.

Lamentation of the kings for Edward.

O pugil ecclesiæ et splendor militiæ, O rigor justitiæ et lima nequitiæ, capitanee totius Christiani exercitus, invictissime rex Edwarde, tua prudentia cunctorum regnorum derides astutiam,[4] tuaque sapientia omnium regnantium potentiam moderaris. Te ut hostem quondam inquietavimus, sed illa inquietatio destructio nostra fuit. Et sicut olim manus omnium contra Ysmaelem et manus ejus contra omnes, sic nos Gen. xvi. 12 reges terræ contra Edwardum, sed Edwardus valens præpotentius contra omnes. Et nunc reges, terræ principes, et omnes judices mundi, in evocatione regis Edwardi etiam cunctorum orthodoxorum tota lamentat conregnatio. Cujus et suorum frequens armatorum exercitatio, quid aliud nisi, post ejus exitum de Egypto, paganorum et infidelium expugnatio doctrinalis?

His royal triumphs.

Abavus autem suus et tritavus ejus, dilatantes imperia, subjecerunt sibi ducatus et comitatus. Edwardus vero paternarum magnificentiarum amplius æmulator existens, regaleque perornans solium, in clipeo et in hasta principatum Walliæ, truncatis ejus principibus, Leolino et David, potentissime adquisivit. Quinimmo

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[1] *non Noemi*] non Emy, H. B.
[2] *mellificante*] mellificanti, H. B.
[3] *mæstificatus*] fellificatus, L.
[4] *astutiam*] justitiam, H. B.

dominium regni Scotiæ primo magni industria consilii, secundo potenti virtute bellorum, regnum illud victoriosissime est adeptus. Nihilominus comitatibus Cornubiæ et Northfolchiæ, disponente Eo cujus est orbis terræ et plenitudo ejus, ad manus Edwardi mirabiliter devolutis, suis successoribus amplissimam reliquit materiam gloriandi. Ubicunque igitur Christus habet nomen, inter præcellentissimos fidelium reges habeat et Edwardus honorem. Nam, ipso vivente, sicut lætantium omnium gentium habitatio liberalissima in se fuit. Quo quidem subtracto de medio, perhennis deploratio cunctarum nationum jocunditatem infaustissime abolevit.

A.D. 1307. His conquest of Scotland, and acquisition of Norfolk and Cornwall.

Commendatio lamentabilis Margaretæ reginæ.

Lamentation of queen Margaret.

Audite insulæ et attendite populi de longe, si est
Lam. i. 12. dolor similis dolori meo; nam cecidit corona capitis
mei, defecit gaudium cordis mei, et versa est in
Job, xxx. 31. luctum cythara mea, et organum meum in vocem
flentium. Ha! bone Jesu, Quis mihi tribuat, ut pro
te moriar, domine mi[1] rex? Mors in voto[2] mihi[3] est,
et vita in tædio. Et cum sic moriar, incessanter in
desideriis habeo mori plenius, vivere compellor invita,
ut vita sit mihi mortis pabulum[4] et materia cruciatus.
1 Kings, x. 7. tus. Quoniam rumor quem nolebam evenit mihi, et
accidit quod verebar. Audita est vox tribulationis et
desolationis maximæ in terra nostra; magnanimus rex
Edwardus obdormivit in Domino.[5] Ha! Martha et
Maria, cur abistis[6] longius in Judeam, redite, quæso,
ad monumentum et plorate. Vocate Raby, si forte
excitet eum a sompno. Quoniam si fuisset hic non
S. John xi. 21. fuisset mortuus dominus meus et rex meus, rex

[1] *mi*] vir, H. B.
[2] *in voto*] invoco, H. B.
[3] *mihi*] modo, H. B.
[4] *pabulum*] periculum, H. B.
[5] *in Domino*] om. C. N.
[6] *abistis*] ab istis, MSS.

A.D. 1307.
His love of peace; his parliaments and alliances.

quidem terribilis super omnes filios superbiæ, et pacabilis omnibus mansuetis terræ; ad pacem namque commissi sibi gregis[1] pertinuit quicquid cogitaret, loqueretur, aut ageret. Profecto ad pacem populi spectare dinoscitur quod parliamenta uniret,[2] quod firmaret fœdera, quod cum extraneis fœderaret, quod prælia minaretur, et principibus terrores[3] inmitteret. Nolite iccirco, quæso, nunciari[4] hæc in triviis Gethæ, neque in compitis Aschalonis, ne forte insultent filiæ paganorum. Sed filiæ Syon et Jerusalem, filiæ regni[5] et ecclesiæ, in vestitu deaurato, circumdatæ varietate virtutum, flete Edwardum regem qui pascebat vos in deliciis,[6] qui præparabat ornamenta cultui vestro, et coronulas aureas et gemmatas vestris capitibus adaptavit. Ha! pie Jesu, quid fecisti nobis sic? Ecce enim in morte Edwardi domini mei moritur omnis homo. Revera in ea quodam compassionis[7] tædio, lamentationis confrixorio, et pœnitudinis gladio sauciasti omnem hominem super terram.

Job xli. 25.
2 Sam. i. 20.
Ps. xlv. 10.

Commendatio lamentabilis pontificum.[8]

Lamentation of the bishops.

Quis Edwardo rege isto mansuetior? quis compatientior miseris? quis importabilior fuit superbis? Quadam enim divinitatis ymagine semper studuit opprimere fastuosos, oppressis compati, et adversus superbiæ tumorem[9] continuas persecutiones et exitiales molestias suscitare. Ipso autem regnante, omnes vacantes episcopatus, comitatus, abbatiæ, et baroniæ sub ejus potentia fiscabantur; de quibus juxta consuetudinem regni debitam et assuetam portionem accipiens, manus tamen suas habuit restitutionis tempore

[1] *gregis*] a regina, H.
[2] *uniret*] viveret, H. B.
[3] *terrores*] terrorem, H.
[4] *nunciari*] nunciare, H. B.
[5] *regni*] regem, H. B.
[6] *pascebat vos in deliciis*] om. H. B.
[7] *compassionis*] passionis, H. B.
[8] *pontificum*] præsulum, C. L.
[9] *tumorem*] rumorem, H. B.

ab omni venalitate innoxias et immunes. Et si facta ejus deducantur in medium, quæ per nos retexere atque expedire prout dignum est nequit verbum abbreviatum, providemus eum præcellere cunctos qui ante eum fuerant præclues[1] reges terræ in gloria et honore. Quæ enim de illis præcluibus[2] ascribuntur præcipua de Edwardo solo reperimus denuo adimpleta. De David, quondam Israhelitiææ plebis rege, illud commendatissimum scribitur, quod in isto potissimum adimpletur. "Inveni," inquit Dominus, "virum secundum cor meum;" illo namque inuncto[3] a Samuele propheta, isto a cardinale Ottone et legato fonte baptismatis renato, et a sancto Edmundo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo confirmato, in utroque directus est Spiritus Domini; a die illa in reliquum uterque præliabatur bella Domini, ut est scriptum: "Porro triumphator in Israel non parcet, et pœnitudine non flectetur." Saul quidem percussit mille, David vero decem milia, magnus autem Edwardus[4] mille milia in milibus suis. Davit percussit Moabitas, Ammonitas, Philisteos, et etiam Ydumeos; et conterens mensus est eos funiculo coæquans[5] terræ, mensus est autem[6] duos funiculos, unum ad occidendum, et alium ad vivificandum. Porro Edwardus expugnavit Sarracenos, Francos, Scotos, Walenses,[7] perfidos Christianos. Mensus est autem per duos funiculos misericordiæ et judicii, coæquans eos terræ, sublimes Scotiæ et Walliæ rebelles fastigiali privans nomine, primitus vitæ donans, postea pace data, lege lata, iterum in arcum pravum conversos,[8] hostes publicos morte plectit. Uterque misericordiæ visceribus affluebat. Nam David æmulum suum Sau-

A.D. 1307.

His excellence above all former kings.

Acts xiii. 22.

Compared with David as a conqueror.

1 Sam. xv. 29.

2 Sam. viii. 2.

Ps. lxxviii. 57.

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[1] *præclues*] præclaros, H.; præclues, B. C.

[2] *præcluibus*] præcelsibus, H. C. L. N.

[3] *inuncto*] inimico, H.

[4] *magnus autem Edwardus*] manus autem Edwardi, C.

[5] *coæquans*] quoæquans, C. N.

[6] *autem*] ad, H.

[7] *Walenses*] et, add. H. B. N.

[8] *conversos*] in, ins. H.

A.D. 1307. Edward compared with David.

lem in manibus suis a Deo datum sine internecione[1] permisit abire. Edwardus vero Johannem regem et omnes comites et proceres Scotiæ, captos in bello et diu incarceratos in Anglia, viros sanguinum et dolosos, dimisit ad propria. Edwardo huic quondam pro defensione salutis nostræ cum immineret capitis nostri periculum, nec pugnare nobis liceret, decimas nostras contulimus,[2] ac utinam nunc omnia corpora nostra et possessa resolverentur in lacrimas et in censum, ad redimendam et rehabendam ejus præsentiam; quam gazæ Medæ Creseæ,[3] quam opes mundi hoc nobis amplius profuisset. Quanto igitur jocundius lætabatur ecclesia de tam gloriosi patroni præsentia, tanto amarius se doleat[4] in illius absentia dira pati.

Commendatio lamentabilis comitum et baronum.

Lamentation of earls and barons.

Edwardus rex magnificus, in libertatibus ecclesiarum defendendis, et sanctorum feretris aureis jocalibus venustandis, ante guerrarum fremitus tota ejus fragrabat intentio. Cujus etiam elemosinas enarrat omnis saltem ecclesia Anglicana; et ad pacem regni profuit immensitas illa pecuniarum quam recepit, congregaverat aut donarat; in castellis quidem construendis, in[5] turribus infortiandis, in muris, in propugnaculis, in munitionibus, in fossatis, in clausuris ferarum et piscium nullus[6] subtilior, nullus magnificentior reperitur. Erat autem rex Edwardus vir bellator ab adholescentia sua egregius, in hastiludiis validissimus, quo nunquam lancea ejus in cassum[7] abiit vel retrorsum, in torneamentis audacissimus, nec ibi reversus est

Edward's prowess in tournaments.

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[1] *internecione*] interjectione, H. B.

[2] *contulimus*] concussimus, C. L.

[3] *Creseæ*] crescere, H.; Cresee, MS. Laud.; Criseæ, N.

[4] *doleat*] dolebat, C.

[5] *in*] om. C.

[6] *nullus*] nullo, H. B.

[7] *in cassum*] in casum, H. B.

2 Sam. i. 23. gladius ejus inanis, illic ut putaretur aquila[1] velocior, A.D. 1307.
istic leone robustior; occursantes milites a dextra læva- His glory war.
que deiciens, ipse a nemine est prostratus. In bello pugnacissimus, in procinctu sagacissimus, in eventu fortunatissimus. In exitu belli Marte[2] felicior censebatur. Quocunque enim se verteret in omnibus viis suis prudenter agebat. Fuitque Dominus cum eo, per quem[3] erat vir in cunctis prospere agens. Sed cui Compared with Solomon.
comparabimus et assimilabimus te, gloriosissime princeps regum terræ? Si regi[4] Salomoni, in faciendo judicium et justitiam æquipolles. In optando cor docile[5] ad discernendum inter bonum et malum, et non cædem de hostibus vel dies multos, eadem gratia in benedictionibus præveniris. Ecce enim, quod optabas et quod non petisti præstitit tibi Deus. In divitiis præpolles quodammodo. Nam Salomon in quæ messuit pater ejus introiit, et de aliorum laboribus jocundatur. Edwardus vero de propriis in gladio et arcu adeptis ad horam exultans, quanto differentius triumphator, nanciscens et possidens, quam successor sabatizans et superbiens, tanto gloriosius poterit commendari. Salomon parabolas dictavit et carmina quibus jam florescit ecclesia. Edwardus autem leges edidit et statuta ut suo in ordine stent sol et luna, pacificentur sacerdotium atque regnum. Et quod de Salomone legitur famosum eulogium, de isto Edwardo verisimiliter recitatur:[6]
1 Kings x. 23, 24. "Magnificatus est rex gloriosus in diebus suis super "omnes reges terræ, divitiis et sapientia, et universa "terra desiderabat videre vultum ejus ut audiret sapi-"entiam quam Dominus dederat in corde suo." Omnes igitur populi, tribus et linguæ in occasu tanti regis dederunt lacrimas per diem et noctem; et non taceant

[1] *aquila*] ullo, B.; the writer having apparently read *aliquo* for *aquila*.
[2] *Marte*] major, H. B.
[3] *quem*] quam, H. B.
[4] *regi*] om. C.
[5] *docile*] deliciæ, H. B.
[6] *recitatur*] rectatur, H. B.

A.D. 1307. quia virum tantis redimitum præconiis non habet ut redimat totus mundus.

Commendatio lamentabilis militum.

Lamentation of the knights.

O magnanime rex Edwarde, tu primicerius noster in bello, tu dux in castris et bravium cursus nostri,[1] ut Moyses fide grandis,[2] dum manus expandis ad sydera, a populo Israhelitico[3] Amalech devincitur, a Josue Jericho subvertitur, et ab Edwardo villa Berewici super Twede una hora diei adquiritur. Necnon cum exercitu Pharaonis Neustriæ plebs tota nautica pelago uno die submergitur, atque perfida multitudo Judæorum et incredula ab Anglia et a dominio regis[4] uno die in exilium relegatur. Olim cum Alexandro rege Macedonum[5] reges Persarum et Medorum devicimus,[6] et provincias orientales subegimus, nunc in fine temporum[7] cum magno rege Edwardo contra illustrem regem Franciæ Philippum guerram decennalem suscepimus; Vasconiam in dolo præpossessam recuperavimus vi et armis, Walliam hostili cæde comparavimus,[8] Scotiam truncatis ejus tyrannis in ore gladii invasimus.[9] Quinimmo regnum Angliæ de ore leonis eruimus, cum Danielem, regem Henricum tertium, de manu bestiæ, Symonis de Monteforti, in bello Eveshamiæ liberavimus. Et ita in regale solium tam virtute belli quam successione hereditaria exaltavimus magnum Edwardum. Olim Brutus, vir pollens viribus, deletis[10] quibusdam monstruosis gigantum et terrigenarum corporibus, inanem[11] et supervacuam se jactitat[12]

Comparison with Alexander.

Rescue of Henry III.

Comparison with Brutus.

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1 *nostri*] om. H.
2 *grandis*] magnus, C.
3 *a populo Israhelitico*] ab Israel, C. B. N.
4 *dominio regis*] domino rege, C.
5 *Macedonum*] Macedo, C. N.
6 *devicimus*] dimicantes, H. B.
7 *temporum*] temporis, C.
8 *vi . . . comparavimus*] om. C.
9 *invasimus*] evasimus, C. N.
10 *deletis*] delutis, H.; debitis, B.
11 *inanem*] inmanem, H.
12 *jactitat*] jactat, H.

insulam adquisisse; sed plusquam Brutus Edwardus, ut infra patebit. Patricius Arthurus rex Orcadas, Norwagicas, Aquitannicas, Scoticas et Hybernicas insulas populis[1] semiplenas constituit[2] sub tributo. Porro tribum Saxonum quæ subdole Britanniam[3] intrarat omnino delere non potuit, a quibus denique per Modredum cognatum suum salva pace Britonum evanuit sauciatus. Non sic succubuit Edwardus rex noster. Non sic Eadgarus[4] rex felix Anglorum in navi quondam[5] residens, dum reges Scotorum, Combrorum et alios quinque subregulos per flumen Deche[6] remigare fecisset, protestatur successores suos gloriari se fore[7] reges Anglorum, cum tanta honorum prærogativa fruerentur,[8] ut subjectam haberent tot regum potentiam. Et ecce plusquam Eadgarus Edwardus. Nam prædicta insularum gubernacula virtute calcans propria, plura prioribus in unius possessionem[9] redigens, per monarchiæ titulum successores suos reges Angliæ multo magnificentius prædictis omnibus insignivit. Inclitus autem rex[10] Angliæ Ricardus quondam bellator fortis, qui quasi leo rugiens plures transmarinas insulas debellavit, plurima laudum memoria dignus[11] exstat. Verumtamen notam[12] dedecoris in præsumptione audaciæ suæ captus a duce Austriæ, pro nephas, passus est, non dimidians dies suos sicut nec magnus Alexander. Nam ille annos regnans duodecim veneno hausto vita defungitur; iste balistæ spiculo letaliter vulneratus obiit decimo regni sui anno. Non sic Edwardus rex noster. Non sic, sed major maximis

A.D. 1307. Comparison of Edward with Arthur; with Edgar; with Richard I. Of Richard and Alexander.

[1] *populis*] om. C. N.
[2] *constituit*] construit, H. B.
[3] *Britanniam*] Bruto juvamen, H.
[4] *Eadgarus*] Edwardus, H. B.
[5] *quondam*] quadam, C. L. N.
[6] *Deche*] Dache, C.
[7] *gloriari se fore*] om. H. B.
[8] *fruerentur*] faverentur, H.
[9] *possessionem*] possessionum, H. B.
[10] *rex*] om. H. B.
[11] *dignus*] om. H.
[12] *Verumtamen notam*] probatum, notatum, H.; B. N. and L. omit *probatum*.

A.D. 1307. His escape from the assassins.

regibus rex Edwardus. Qui, cum in Terra Sancta crucis causam ageret, a quodam assassino quinquies mortaliter confossus, nec interiit; a multis sagittatus jaculis, ut apud Strivelyn, inermis nec carne læditur. Hic rex Edwardus super omnes reges adauxit[1] gloriam militarem,[2] edicto[3] lato in Francia, in Flandria, in Aquitannia, in Anglia, in Scotia, in Hybernia et in Wallia, ut quotquot militare vellent armis sæcularibus ad regem venirent de sua garderoba cuncta militaria ornamenta effluentissime admissuri. Et quis audivit talia? Quanta igitur recolit orbis Anglicus se in ejus ductu[4] nactum[5] fuisse magnalia, eo uberius ingemiscens se plangit tanta demeruisse in illius[6] absentia. Eya commilitones optimi, intuemini quid accidit nobis, attendite et videte[7] obprobrium nostrum. Gladii nostri conflabuntur in vomeres, et in falces bellatrices[8] lanceæ redigentur; emarcuit enim flos mundanæ militiæ, sub quo militare erat regnare, proficisci proficere, denique confligere triumphare.

His bounty to his knights.

Commendatio lamentabilis clericorum.

Lamentation of the clergy.

O felix Anglia et vere beata terra cujus rex est nobilis. Quæ profecto[9] regnante magnifico Edwardo terrore concutit omnia regna mundi. Quo proficiscente in regione viventium et ejus regnante vocabulo pax vigescit, æmulus obmutescit, et tranquillitate ecclesia reflorescit. Et si recolimus scripturas, Josephus hystoriographus Saulem quondam Israhelitarum regem omnibus præfert regibus et commendat. Provocat namque sapientes et reges et principes dare virtutem universæ

[1] *adauxit*] audaxit, H. B.; adduxit, N.
[2] *militarem*] inclitarem, H. B.
[3] *edicto*] edito, H. B.
[4] *ductu*] dictu, H.
[5] *nactum*] natum, C.
[6] *illius*] ejus, H.
[7] *et videte*] om. H.
[8] *bellatrices*, bellantes, H. B.
[9] *profecto*] profecit, H.

gloriæ, in imitando Saulem pro salute patriæ ad pericula mortis libenter ire, et universa quæ videntur gravia edocet esse tempnenda. Ait enim sic: "rex Saul "licet futura jam nosset et mortem sibi imminere propheta prædicente agnosceret, nec amore vitæ suum "exercitum prodidit inimicis, nec regiæ contumeliam "intulit dignitati, sed potius, semetipsum cum omni "domo sua tradens, optimum judicavit cum eis magis "cadere pro subjectis[1] pugnando et filiis, et una perire "quam eos in incerto[2] relinquere, quasi regni successionem et generis habituros. Is autem[3] et justus et "castus et fortissimus mihi videtur esse. Et, si quis "fuit talis aut fuerit, est cunctorum[4] testimonio virtutis "adeptione[5] dignissimus. Nam eos qui sub spe victoriæ proficiscuntur ad bellum et incolumes se redire "confidunt, quid gesserint clarum? Non mihi videntur "bene facere qui eos fortes voluerint appellare. Magnanimes autem et grandia præsumentes et rerum terribilium contemptores soli[6] dicendi sunt omnes qui "imitantur Saulem. Illi namque qui nescientes quid "in bello futurum est nequaquam animo[7] deficiunt, sed "in incertum semetipsos emittunt, licet aliquid grande "faciant, non tamen admodum mirandi sunt. Cum "vero nihil utile venturum animo cogitatur, sed mors "futura præscitur, et hoc solummodo, dimicant aliqui "neque terrentur neque pro mortis periculis obstupescunt, hujusmodi perfectæ fortitudinis esse decerno." Hæc Josephus.[8] Et ecce plusquam Saul hic et[9] multo beatior rex Edwardus, qui, cum diem mortis suæ revelante spiritu sentiret imminere suique impotens equitare nihilominus lecticam parat, ad bellum properat, san-

A.D. 1307. Comparison of Edward with Saul.

Jos. Antt. Jud. vi. 15.

[1] *pro subjectis*] om. H. B.
[2] *in incerto*] in certo, H. B.
[3] *Is autem*] ideo ergo, C.
[4] *cunctorum*] curtorum, H. B.
[5] *adeptione*] adoptione, C.
[6] *soli*] solo, H. B.
[7] *animo*] omnino, H.B.
[8] *cum vero . . . Josephus*] om. H. B. The words are inserted in H. B. at the end of the section.
[9] *et*] om. H. B.

A.D. 1307. Edward's superiority to Saul.

guinem in ecclesia fusum dampnat, dum parricidas decapitat et incendiarios flamma incinerat, deridentesque decrepitum deliros mortificat moriturus. Et ecce rex Edwardus præscius mori in bello ad bellum cum Saul vadit, et in bello cum Saul non gladio ignaviter sed fato excedit. Non corruit ante Philistiim ut Saul a Domino reprobatus, nec dyadema ejus abripuit Amalechites, neque in occasu hujus sideris ruinam vel eclipsim patitur exercitus, sicut Saul, sed victoriam; moriens quippe sicut Sampson, viventes mortificat, nec potuit exanimis sepeliri, antequam omnis ejus proditor[1] præter unum ad nihilum redigeretur; beatificante illum Domino quodammodo et dicente, "sic eum volo " manere donec ponam inimicos ejus scabellum pedum " suorum." Omnes autem populus, tribus et linguæ, ad quos fragraverit fama Edwardi, ad exequias ejus,[2] non dictas funeris sed[3] triumphi hostias placationum, aromata affectionum, et thimiamata precum offerant, cum lacrimis exultantes et lacrimantes in gaudio devotionis, Edwardi memoriam tanto dignius sollempnizent præconiis et attollant, quanto reverentius regem, sincerius dominum, devotius legislatorem, et securius vitæ defensorem momentaneo sæculi intervallo amabiliter recolunt habuisse.[4]

Commendatio lamentabilis laicorum.[5]

Lamentation of the laity.

Et quid dicemus nos tantilli ? quid referemus litteratura pusilli ? cum quicquid dixerimus minor laus est quam dignitas Edwardi meretur.[6] Ipse est quem Dominus, sicut apostolum Paulum a multis periculis eripuit, et salvavit a plagis, a mortibus frequenter, a lapidantibus, a sagittantibus, a periculis latronum, gen-

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[1] *proditor*] productor, H. B.
[2] *ejus*] om. H.
[3] *sed*] om. H. B.
[4] *habuisse*] om. H. B.
[5] *laicorum*] vulgi, L.
[6] *meretur*] meritur, H. B.

A.D. 1307.

Edward's perils and preservations.

tium, civitatum, solitudinum, fluminum, ignium, et etiam proditorum. Quæ omnia et singula si fideli scribarum serie, ut dignum est, in libro stilo ferreo exararentur, vel celte sculperentur in silice, post dictum apostolum non reperimus hominem a tot periculis tam miraculose salvatum. Quem non ter vel quater sed multotiens naufragantem et naufragum[1] nec mare absorbuit. Persæpe tectis obrutis cum supellectili[2] ejus[3] et combustis, illæsus, illibatus evasit, verum in supremo utriusque positus discrimine nullatenus pavescebat, sed vultu hylari deridebat. Quamobrem naucleri et remiges[4] sedule loquebantur, "Quis est hic "cui quasi mare et venti obediunt?"[5] Alii responderunt, "Edwardus christus Domini; de isto credimus "esse scriptum, Cum navigaveris per aquas flumina "non te operient; cum transieris per ignem flamma "non nocebit te, et odor ignis non erit in te." Si quando proficisceretur rex iste longius a regno, sanctis Dei in Anglia translatis se prius devotissime commendaret, et specialius sancto Edwardo confessori. Si vero periclitans nocitus[6] non fuisset, vel triumphus sibi de hostibus proveniret, ipsorum meritis ascribebat; quorum feretra aureis jocalibus in testimonium rediens adornabat. Hic est ille magnanimus[7] rex Edwardus, qui, etsi toto tempore vitæ suæ crebris guerrarum pulsaretur fragoribus, e contra ipse, ut fortis athleta, indefesse agonizavit. Quinimmo semetipsum exinanivit usque ad mortem ut habitaret gens Anglica confidenter, unusquisque de vite sua et ficu[8] sua secure[9] edens et bibens; in diebus suis non sensit populus ejus cladem, pestilentiam, sive famem. Cujus etiam

Job xix. 24.

S. Mark iv. 40.

Isa. xliii. 2.

His devotion to the saints.

Peace in his time.

[1] *naufragum*] naufragium, H. B.
[2] *supellectili*] super lectulum, H.
[3] *ejus*] om. H.
[4] *remiges*] remige, H. B.
[5] *obediunt*] ei, ins. H.
[6] *nocitus*] et vocatu, H.
[7] *magnanimus*] magnificus, H. B.
[8] *vite sua et ficu*] vita sua et situ, H.
[9] *secure*] securitate, H.; securus, B.

A.D. 1307. Edward's true sympathy with his people.

beatitudini adeo rugientis inimici invidens insanivit[1] versutia, ut non solum contra eum populum forinsecum sed quandoque domesticum concitaret. Edwardus vero, dextera Domini faciente virtutem, illos in potentia superavit bellica, istos rex longanimis et multum misericors in patientia[2] tranquillavit. Vere Edwardus dolores nostros portavit et languores nostros ipse[3] sanavit. Quo ponente animam suam in manibus suis a morte liberati sumus. Alioquin nisi Dominus exercituum dedisset nobis eum regem, et reliquisset de illo nobis semen,[4] sicut Jerusalem semel posita in pomorum essemus custodia, aut tanquam signum ad sagittam, vel regnum datum in exterminium,[5] similes fuissemus. Denique rex iste grandævus cum beato Martino expansis ad cælum manibus sæpissime peroravit, "Domine si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius non recuso pro eis subire laborem; ac si parcis ætati bonum est mihi; en ego inutilis servus tuus, paulo minus septuagenarius et in laboribus a juventute mea, tibi me totum devovi. Et ecce novus tyrannus Scotiæ populum tuum invadit. Proinde hos quibus timeo ipse custodias; fiat voluntas tua." O regem ineffabilem; nec labore victum nec morte vincendum, qui nec mori timuit nec vivere recusavit. Eapropter,[6] advertite in prædictis martirem, qui pro Christi nomine ejus causa ejusque terra[7] sanguinem suum fudit; et, si dici fas sit, plusquam martir, quem venenum[8] non extinxit,[9] quemadmodum nec evangelistam Johannem; quemque ferrum non transfodit, sicuti nec Martinum;[10] plaudens igitur[11] plangit de

Isa. liii.

Isa. i. 9.

Compared with S. Martin.

Od. Clun. Antt. de S. Martino, 4.

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[1] *insanivit*] insaniens, H.
[2] *patientia*] potentia, H. B.
[3] *ipse*] ille, H. B. N.
[4] *semen*] memoriam, H.
[5] *exterminium*] exercitum, H. B.
[6] *Eapropter*] Eja populi, C.
[7] *ejus causa, ejusque terra*] om. H.
[8] *venenum*] neminem, H.; neminium, B.
[9] *extinxit*] extinguit, H.
[10] *Martinum*] martirium, H. B.
[11] *igitur*] autem, B.

triumphantis regis exilio mater ecclesia; tympanizans ejulat hunc præmeruisse nunc ablatum quam felix Anglia; organizans flet et dolet vincentem mundum amodo non posse sequi sua victrix militia; quem sabatizans deplorat ejus perdidisse patrocinia orbis totus. O quam lætus dolor in tristi gaudio! O quantus luctus et meror omnium monachorum, prædicatorum et pius virginum chorus, vox plangentium, vox psallentium quam pium est gaudere Edwardum et pium est flere Edwardum.[1] A nobis enim ablatus Deo Sabaoth est donatus. Amodo jam dicet Spiritus ut requiescat a laboribus suis; et Zabulo frustra cogitante de supplicio benigne disponit de præmio pius Deus. Non nobis, Domine, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam, et Johanni de Londonia peccatorum veniam.[2]

A.D. 1307. General grief of all England.

[1] *et pium . . . Edwardum*] om. C.

[2] *Non nobis . . . veniam*] om. H. B. L. N.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.

IV.

GESTA EDWARDI DE CARNARVAN, AUCTORE CANONICO BRIDLINGTONIENSI, CUM CONTINUATIONE AD A.D. 1377.

GESTA EDWARDI DE CARNARVAN, AUCTORE CANONICO BRIDLINGTONIENSI, CUM CONTINUATIONE AD A.D. 1377.

Incipit Prologus in librum gestorum Edwardi regis Angliæ dicti de Carnarvan.[1]

Auctoritatis et industriæ magnæ fuit, qui primo instituit antiquorum opera juxta temporum variationes[2] in scriptis redigere, et in codicibus compilare; felix siquidem et fidelis antiquitas quæ talium[3] usum suis posteris dereliquit; aliter namque propter memoriæ labilitatem et rerum transeuntium mutabilem successionem, recordatio gestorum veterum ab humana notitia deperiret. Unde libenter

Merit of ancient historians.

Scriberem dictanda[4] varia,
De miris actibus sumpta materia,
Sed duo navigent per mundi maria
Quæ sunt scriptoribus semper contraria.
Horum invidia primo proponitur,
Tunc avaritia sequens apponitur,
Quorum caliditas quando componitur
Cum multis cordibus Christo præponitur.
Si quis quid congruum dictet vel sapiat
Aut supra ceteros primatum capiat,

Discouragements of modern followers.

[1] The MSS. are Bodl. 101 (B.), Harleian 688 (H.), and Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 5. 37 (C.). The prologue is not found in the Trinity MS.

[2] *variationes*] varietates, H.

[3] *talium*] talem, H.

[4] *dictanda*] dictando, H

Discouragements to attempts at literary distinction.

Obstitit invidus hunc ut diripiat,
Aut laudis titulum sibi surripiat,
Dicens, "Non studuit sic in grammatica,
"Neque sic floruit in Dialectica,[1]
"Ut dictet talia, vel scribet metrica,
"Nam nunquam didicit hæc ex Retorica."
Sic latet invidus sub agni vellere,
Amorem simulans, abundat scelere,
Conatur viribus totis expellere
Quem cernit moribus ipsum præcellere.
Sic omnes judicat aç si notitiam
Haberet omnium, cum nec scientiam
Novit aut negligit aut per malitiam
Odit alterius hinc sapientiam.
Avarus itaque dicit, "Quid proderit
"Si quis in studio multum expenderit
"Propter scientiam aut desudaverit;
"Nulli post obitum doctrina deerit;
"Licet hic laici homines fuerimus
"Illic docibiles et docti erimus.
"Post carnis terminum quam modo gerimus
"Nullam scientiam nobiscum ferimus."
Sed crede firmiter, qui non hic sapuit
Periclitabitur quia desipuit.
Illic recipiet quisque quod meruit,
Salvum accipiet[2] qui sanum seruit.
Est malum aliud quod cogor dicere,
Nam plures novimus qui jam negligere
Malunt salubria sibi quam discere
A sibi paribus, arte vel opere
Si sis inferior, et plus sapueris
Aut in scientia sibi par fueris
Quandocunque scripseris sive dictaveris
Depravat, reprobat tanquam erraveris.

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[1] *Dialectica*] Dioletica, MS. B. | [2] *accipiet*] aperiet, B. H.

Quæ fert extraneus sunt placabilia
Si dictat proximus contemptibilia,
Propheta siquidem per evangelia
Nullus accipitur in sua patria.
Hinc propter invidos non prætermittitur
Nec propter cupidos verum quid scribitur,
Lege quod reperis quia conficitur
De nostris ducibus sermo qui sequitur.

Fashion in these things.

Quæso igitur, O lector, non imiteris illos qui, cum aliis[1] detrahunt, semetipsos doctos arbitrantur; sed parcas, si placet, scribenti, subtiliter corrigendo si quid in sequentibus fuerit oberratum. Et ideo

The reader is not to be hypercritical.

Invidus inspector noli consistere, lector,
Sed sis corrector et in isto carmine rector.

INCIPIUNT GESTA EDWARDI REGIS ANGLIÆ DICTI DE CARNERVAN[2] FILII EDWARDI BONI REGIS.

Quamvis in hac vita nihil certum[3] reperimus nisi mortem, quam quidem evadere nemo potest, legimus tamen patres nostros sæpe planxisse funera defunctorum; et hoc est quia naturalis doloris anxietas nescit tunc tempore admittere rationem; unde ex lamentabili decessu nobilissimi principis Edwardi, regis Angliæ illustris, Anglia plurimum desolata, per præsentiam novi regis hereditarie in regni regimine succedentis, debet, ut convenit, respirare et per consolationes varias doloris stimulum temperare. Defuncto igitur strenuissimo principe supradicto apud Burgum super sabulum in confinio regni sui, vii° die mensis Julii, videlicet in festo translationis beati Thomæ martyris, anno Domini M°CCC°VII° et regni sui Angliæ xxxv°, filius ejus Edwardus dictus de Carnervan regnavit pro eo; qui circa festum Beatæ[4] Mariæ

A.D. 1307. General sorrow for the death of Edward I., July 7.

Succession of Edward of Carnarvon.

[1] *aliis*] om. H.
[2] *Carnervan*] Carnarvan, C.
[3] *certum*] sit, ins. B.
[4] *Beatæ*] om. H.

A.D. 1307. July. He receives the homages.

Magdalenæ cum comitibus, baronibus, et aliis regni nobilibus, tunc in partibus aquilonis existentibus usque Karliolum[1] est profectus, quorum fidelitates et homagia recepit ibidem debita suo regi; diebusque[2] paucis postmodum evolutis, omnes proceres regni Scotiæ, excepto Roberto de Bruys, eidem domino regi Angliæ tanquam regi et superiori domino regni Scotiæ, fidelitates et homagia sic fecerunt. Nec multum post dominus rex dedit comitatum Cornubiæ domino Petro de Gavestone Vasconiensi, et ipsum inde feofavit simul cum omnibus aliis terris quæ fuerunt domini Edmundi quondam comitis Cornubiæ; deditque sibi neptem suam filiam domini Gilberti de Clare, comitis Gloucestriæ, in uxorem. Item dominus Walterus de Langetone, Coventrensis et Lichefeldensis episcopus, qui temporibus regis Edwardi ultimo defuncti cancellarii et thesaurarii officia strenue gessit, in castro de Walynforde[3] strictæ custodiæ deputatur, et secundum priorem gloriam suam subsecuta est ignominia finem quem sibi fortuna tradere voluerit expectandum.

Promotion of Piers Gaveston.

Bishop Langton imprisoned at Wallingford.

De captione Templariorum in Francia.

A.D. 1308. Measures taken against the Templars.

Item eodem anno fratres Militiæ Templi, de hæresi et aliis facinoribus notati, et per inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis in regno Franciæ diffamati et convicti, per totum regnum Franciæ capiebantur in die Sancti Edwardi Confessoris, advocato in adjutorium brachio sæculari, eo quod[4] magister, præceptores et alii fratres dictæ Militiæ Templi, et etiam ipse ordo, qui ad defensionem patrimonii ipsius Domini nostri Jesu Christi fuerant in partibus transmarinis deputati, contra ipsum Dominum in scelus apostaciæ nephandum, detestabilis ydolatriæ vitium, execrabile faci-

[1] *Karliolum*] Karnolum, H. C.
[2] *que*] om. H.; etiam, C.
[3] *Walynforde*] Walingford, H.
[4] *quod*] The matter that follows is extracted from the letter of Clement V., summoning the Council of Vienne, Aug. 12, 1308, printed in Wilkins, Concilia, ii. 304 sq.

nos Sodomorum, ut dicebatur, et hæreses varias erant lapsi. Sed quia non erat verisimile nec credibile videbatur, quod viri tam religiosi, qui præcipue pro Christi nomine suum sæpe sanguinem effundere, ac personas suas mortis periculis frequenter exponere credebantur, quique multa et magna, tam in divinis officiis quam in jejuniis et aliis observantiis, devotionis signa frequentius prætendebant, suæ sic essent salutis immemores, quod talia perpetrarent; hujusmodi insinuationi ac delationi eorum, ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi exemplis et canonicæ scripturæ doctrinis edoctus, Clemens papa V^tus^ aurem noluit inclinare: deinde Philippus Francorum rex, cui eadem facinora fuerant nuntiata, ipsum papam quantum potuit informavit, et super hiis multas et magnas informationes per suos nuncios et litteras destinavit. Infamia vero contra Templarios istos etiam[1] crebrescente validius super sceleribus antedictis, et quia etiam quidam miles ejusdem ordinis magnæ nobilitatis, et qui non levis opinionis in dicto ordine habebatur, coram papa secreto juratus deposuit, quod in receptione fratrum præfati ordinis hæc consuetudo vel verius corruptela servatur, quod, ad recipientis vel ab eo deputati suggestionem, qui recipitur Jesum Christum negat et super crucem sibi ostensam spuit in vituperium crucifixi, et quædam alia faciunt recipiens et receptus quæ non sunt licita nec humanæ conveniunt honestati, prout ipse tunc confessus extitit coram papa; qui vitare non potuit, urgente officii sui debito, quin tot et talibus clamoribus accommodaret auditum. Unde papa de præmissis duxit ratione prævia procedendum, multosque de præceptoribus, presbiteris, militibus, et aliis fratribus dicti ordinis, reputationis[2] non modicæ, in sua præsentia constitutos, præstito ab eis juramento quod super præmissis meram et plenam dicerent veritatem, super prædictis interrogavit, et usque ad numerum septuaginta duorum examinavit, multis ex cardinalibus sibi assistentibus diligenter, eorumque confessiones per publicas manus in autenticam scripturam redactas, illico in sua et dictorum cardinalium præsentia, ac deinde interposito aliquo dierum spatio in consistorio legi fecit coram ipsis, et illas in suo vulgari cuilibet eorum exponi; qui perseverantes in illis, eas expresse et sponte prout recitatæ fuerant approbarunt. Post quæ cum magistro et præceptoribus præcipuis præfati ordinis

A.D. 1308.

Proceedings against the Templars.

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[1] *etiam*] om. C.

[2] *reputationis*] representationis, H. C.

A.D. 1308. Proceedings against the Templars.

intendens papa super præmissis inquirere per seipsum magistrum Franciæ, et terræ ultramarinæ, Normanniæ, Aquitanniæ, et Pictaviæ præceptores majores, ipso papa Pictavis existente, sibi mandavit præsentari. Qui magister et præceptores præfati, coram tribus cardinalibus et quatuor tabellionibus publicis, et multis aliis bonis viris tunc ibidem præsentibus, ad sancta Dei Evangelia ab eis corporaliter tacta, præstito juramento quod super præmissis omnibus meram et plenam dicerent veritatem, coram ipsis singulariter, libere ac sponte, absque coactione qualibet et[1] terrore, deposuerunt; et confessi fuerunt inter cetera Christi abnegationem et super crucem spuitionem, cum in ordine Templi recepti fuerunt, et quidam ex eis se sub eadem forma, scilicet cum abnegatione Christi et spuitione super crucem fratres multos recepisse. Sunt etiam quidam ex eis quædam horribilia et inhonesta confessi, quæ ut eorum ad præsens parcamus verecundiæ subticemus.

Their confessions.

Unam etiam hæresim et blasphemiam in Deo irrogatam omnes et singuli sunt confessi, videlicet, quod magister ordinis, nullis sacris ordinibus insignitus, a pœna et a culpa in suis capitulis debeat absolvere suos fratres, cum constat Dominum Jesum suis discipulis et non laycis claves ecclesiæ commendasse; unde, Lazaro resuscitato, eisdem dixit, "Solvite eum "et sinite abire;" et similiter leprosis mundatis dixit, "Ite et ostendite vos sacerdotibus;" unde liquide apparet quod sacerdotibus ligandi atque solvendi Dominus tradidit potestatem. Item notoria sunt omnia quæ dicta sunt de illis tam juris præsumptione quam facti; nam juris præsumptione quod omnes catholici faciunt facta et consilia sua in die et in luce, ipsi vero de nocte faciunt capitula sua, ubi nullus apparet. De quibus in evangelio, "omnis "qui male agit odit lucem." Dixerunt præterea et confessi sunt esse vera quæ in eorum confessionibus et depositionibus continentur, quas dudum fecerant coram inquisitore hæreticæ pravitatis; quæ confessiones et depositiones dictorum magistri et præceptorum, in scripturam publicam per quatuor tabelliones publicos redactæ, in ipsorum magistri præceptorum

S. John. xi. 44.

S. Luke. xvii. 14.

S. John. iii. 20.

[1] *et*] vel, H.

et quorundam aliorum virorum bonorum præsentia, ac deinde, interposito aliquorum dierum spatio, coram ipsis eisdem lectæ fuerunt de mandato et in præsentia cardinalium prædictorum, et in suo vulgari expositæ cuilibet eorundem, qui perseverantes in illis eas expresse ac sponte prout recitatæ fuerant approbarunt. Et post confessiones et depositiones hujusmodi ab ipsis cardinalibus ab excommunicatione quam pro præmissis incurrerant absolutionem flexis genibus manibusque complosis humiliter et devote, ac cum lacrymarum effusione non modica, petierunt. Ipsi vero cardinales, quia ecclesia non claudit gremium redeunti, ab ipsis magistro et præceptoribus hæresi abjurata expresse, ipsis secundum formam ecclesiæ, auctoritate sibi commissa, absolutionis beneficium impenderunt; ac deinde, ad papæ præsentiam redeuntes, confessiones et depositiones prælibatorum magistri et præceptorum in scripturam publicam per manus publicas, ut supra [1] dictum, redactas, ipsi papæ præsentaverunt; et quæ cum dictis magistro et præceptoribus fecerant retulerunt; ex quibus confessionibus et depositionibus relatione invenit papa sæpefatos magistrum et fratres in præmissis et circa [2] præmissa, licet quosdam ex eis in pluribus et alios in paucioribus, graviter deliquisse; attendens igitur papa quod scelera tam horrida absque Dei omnipotentis et omnium catholicorum injuria transiri non poterant nec debebant incorrecta, decrevit de fratrum suorum consilio universale consilium, a tunc proximis kalendis Octobris ad duos annos immediate sequentes, congregandum, ut in eo tam circa [3] dictum ordinem et personas singulares ac bona ejusdem et reparationem, ordinationem et stabilitatem ecclesiarum et ecclesiasticarum personarum et libertatum earum, Deo auspice, communi consilio debite procedatur, quam circa re[cu]perationem et subsidium Terræ Sanctæ. Et qui voluerit plus de ista materia perscrutari, in alio libro qui vocatur "Incidentia Cronicorum," inveniet totum processum contra Templarios factum contentum, cum citatione facta Willelmo de Grenfelde archiepiscopo Eboracensi ad consilium supradictum præfixo termino Vienniæ celebrandum.

A.D. 1308.

Legal proceedings against them.

More is to be found in another book.

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[1] *supra*] est, C.
[2] *circa*] tunc, C.
[3] *circa*] contra, C.

A.D. 1308. Seizure of the Templars in England.

Item anno Domini supradicto, postquam capiebantur Templarii in regno Franciæ, dominus rex Angliæ ad mandatum domini papæ xii° die Januarii omnes Templarios infra regnum Angliæ uno die capi et incarcerari fecit; quorum bona et prædia confiscantur, tantummodo singulis dictorum Templariorum ad sustentationem iiii^or denariis diebus singulis liberatis, prout metrice dicitur;

"Templis exilium dat ovis[1] et lilium;"

et postea mittebantur diversis domibus religiosorum possessionatorum[2] commorandos decretum consilii expectantes.

Marriage of Edward II.; Jan. 24.

Item eodem anno, xxiiii° die Januarii, Edwardus rex Angliæ filiam regis Franciæ Philippi dicti Pulcri apud Bononiam super mare duxit in uxorem, sub spe pacis et recuperationis terrarum in partibus transmarinis, per prædictum regem Francorum occupatarum, prout inter ipsum et regem Angliæ ultimo fuerat prælocutum; sed, completo matrimonio, terras in Gasconia et alibi, ut prædicitur, injuste primitus occupatas, detinuit sicut prius. Item anno eodem, xxiiii^to die Februarii, idem dominus rex cum regina Londoniis coronatur astantibus magnatibus Angliæ et Franciæ, domino Rogero de Wodelok[3] episcopo Wyntoniensi solempnia celebrante, eo quod Robertus de Wynchelse archiepiscopus Cantuariensis tunc temporis exulavit. Ibidem orta[4] est discordia inter proceres Angliæ et dominum Petrum de Gavastone, cui dominus rex prius dedit comitatum Cornubiæ, per quem alienigenæ domus regis officia secreta et pinguia occupabant, cui etiam rex nimis adhæsit Anglicos parvipendens; attractus[5] siquidem alienigenarum et

His coronation, Feb. 24.

Hatred of Piers Gaveston.

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[1] *ovis*] C. bis, MS. C.

[2] *possessionatorum*] possessiorum, H. C.

[3] *Rogero de Wodelok*] Wodestok, MS. B. Henry Woodlock, bishop of Winchester.

[4] *orta*] facta, H.

[5] *attractus*] acturitus, C.

retentio, frequens cum eisdem communicatio, necnon inconsultis regni proceribus bonorum et beneficiorum indiscreta distributio, a domino suo rege corda magnatum distrahebant, ac inter ipsos et comitem Cornubiæ invidiæ et odii materiam ministrabant. Item xxiiii^to die Martii dominus Robertus de Wynchelse archiepiscopus Cantuariensis cum honore magno applicuit in Anglia, restitutis sibi temporalibus et spiritualibus quæ episcopatui suo fuerunt antiquitus assignata.[1]

A.D. 1308.

Return of archbishop Winchelsey, Mar. 24.

Anno Domini MᵒCCCᵒVIIIᵒ, et regni regis Edwardi post conquæstum secundi[2] primo, in parliamento in quindena Paschæ Londoniis edito, ipse rex ad pacem regni confirmandam consensit quod magnates Angliæ consulerent et diffinirent super statu domini Petri de Gavastone supradicti; unde omnes et singuli tam de consilio regis quam magnatum terræ, ratiocinantes et deliberantes, in hac forma finaliter proponebant;[3] "homagium et sacramentum ligiantiæ potius sunt et vehe-"mentius ligant ratione coronæ quam personæ regis, quod "inde[4] liquet quia, antequam status coronæ descendatur, nulla "ligiancia respicit personam nec debetur; unde, si rex aliquo "casu erga statum coronæ rationabiliter non se gerit, ligii sui "per sacramentum factum coronæ regem reducere et coronæ "statum emendare juste obligantur, alioquin sacramentum "præstitum violatur. Præterea quærendum est quomodo in "tali casu rex reducendus est, an per formam legis vel aspe-"ritatis; per sectam legis dirigi non potest eo quod judices "non habentur nisi per regem, in quo casu, si regia voluntas "rationi dissonaret nihil aliud eveniret nisi error fortius "confirmatus. Quocirca propter sacramentum observandum, "quando rex errorem corrigere vel amovere non curat, quod

April. The king allows the magnates to determine about Piers Gaveston.

Their determination as to compelling the king to do his duty.

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[1] *etc.*, add. B. See Ann. de Melsa, ii. 280.

[2] *post conquæstum secundi*] om. B. MS. C. has a note in the margin, "5^li: vide librum MS. in corio "nigro de Statutis Antiquis."

[3] This doctrine, here alleged by the barons against Piers Gaveston, is made one of the articles against the Despensers in 1321, and is printed in French in the statute passed against them in that year. See vol. I. p. 153 and p. 65 below.

[4] *inde*] om. C.

A.D. 1308. April.

" coronæ dampnosum et populo nocivum est, judicatum est " quod error per asperitatem amoveatur, eo quod per sacra- " mentum præstitum se [obligavit] regere populum, et ligii " sui populum protegere secundum legem cum regis auxilio " sunt astricti."

The decision of the lords against Piers Gaveston.

Item quantum ad personam domini Petri de Gavastone, in eodem parliamento fuit ostensum et pronuntiatum, quod dominus Petrus coronam exheredavit, et suo incitamento regem a concilio procerum regni sui amovit, et sibi ligiantiam quorundam tanquam regi per sacramentum attraxit, et alia multa in coronæ debilitamentum, et ligii domini sui et regni seditionem, multipliciter perpetravit; propositum fuit insuper per commune consilium quod, quia dominus rex prædictum Petrum contra omnes in omnibus articulis manutenere vult, non habendo respectum ad cujuscunque rationem, cujus contrarium convenit bene regi, nec ille indictari seu convinci per sectam in lege liberatam poterit, comites præfatum Petrum, tanquam ligii domini sui et regni seductorem, convictum et dampnatum pronuntiarent, domino nostro regi supplicando, desicut ipse leges observare, populum regere, per sacramentum coronationis suæ astringitur, quod considerationem populi acceptet, et judicium quod inde competit dignetur similiter adimplere. Tandem comites et proceres dominum [1] regem judicium vitæ et membrorum cum præfato domino Petro mitigare juxta libitum suum et reverentiam comitis Gloucestriæ, cujus filiam duxerat, permiserunt; et dominus rex consensit et scripto roboravit, quod dictus Petrus in crastino Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ tunc proxime futuro, ab Anglia corporaliter recederet, nunquam ad eandem ex quavis causa, sub pœna quæ competit, reversurus; et dominus Robertus de Wynchelse archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, ex consensu vel saltem permissione domini regis, cleri et magnatum terræ, sententiam excommunicationis in omnes et singulos qui dictum Petrum post prædictum diem in

He is condemned, but his punishment is mitigated to exile.

He is to leave England on June 25.

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[1] *dominum*] dictum, C.

Anglia receptarent, consulerent, juvarent, vel cibum et potum ei ministrarent seu procurarent, nulla persona excepta, publice fulminavit, rege, regina, eorumque liberis semper salvis. Pronunciata fuit dicta sententia in eodem parliamento super exilio præfati Petri, et contra ipsius reversionem, quam qui voluerit videre, in alio libro ubi scribuntur incidentia cronicorum reperiet; ne, si hic scripta fuerit, propter ipsius prolixitatem legentibus fastidium generaret.[1] Unde nonis Julii recessit ab Anglia sæpefatus dominus Petrus de Gavastone, juxta condictum inter regem[2] et magnates Angliæ; sed contra eorum beneplacitum in Hybernia est receptus. Item quarto idus Augusti rex et proceres regni sunt mutuo concordati.

A.D. 1308. Sentence against his partizans.

He goes to Ireland July 7.

Anno Domini millesimo CCC°IX°, dominus Petrus de Gavastone, uno anno exilii sui peracto, circa translationem beati Thomæ Martyris de Hybernia rediit in Angliam non vocatus; et in crastino Sancti Jacobi apostoli in parliamento apud Stamforde edito, ex assensu comitum et baronum et quorundam aliorum, confirmati sunt eidem Petro comitatus Cornubiæ et omnes aliæ terræ et redditus quas prius habuerat de dono domini regis, ut præfatur, sub spe quod erga regni proceres bene in posterum se haberet; et hoc factum alii proceres regni, qui præsentes tunc temporis non fuerunt, valde moleste sustulerunt, et ab illo die contra prædictum Petrum totis viribus exarserunt. Item eodem anno obiit Henricus de Lascy comes Lincolniensis, et Londonias traditur sepulturæ.[3]

A.D. 1309. Gaveston returns in July, and is reconciled with the barons at Stamford, July 26.

Death of the earl of Lincoln.

Ecce! nunc qualiter sæculum ejus amatoribus est speculum circumspecte volentibus intueri; sed raro videmus quempiam velle per alium castigari; considerantes itaque regni proceres dominum suum regem Angliæ alienigenas et quosdam Anglicos indiscrete sibi

Renewal of quarrels.

[1] *generaret*] gravaret, C.
[2] *regem*] reges, C.
[3] *sepulturæ*] etc., add. B.

A.D. 1310. March. Complaints of the oppressions of the king's servants.

facere familiares, quos etiam præposuit in officiis hospitii sui præcipuis, qui, se super hoc extollentes, victualia, res, et alia bona diversa ceperunt per patrias, valorem vel pretium non solventes; unde comites vehementer condolentes, clamoribus oppressorum remedium apponere statuerunt. Et adeuntes regem injustas et onerosas bonorum populi captiones eidem retulerunt, humiliter supplicantes ut super hujusmodi injuriis et oppressionibus populi prænotati remedium faceret optimum et vociferanti populo misericorditer subveniret. Tandem dominus rex, magnatum precibus acquiescens, concessit,[1] eis "ut ipsi de prælatis, comitibus " et baronibus, certas personas eligerent et discretas, " qui ad honorem Dei, ecclesiæ sanctæ, et regis pro- " fectum, regni et populi commodum et quietem, statu- " erent et ordinarent, ac in scriptis redigerent quicquid " juri competeret et esset consonum rationi." Deinde præfixum est tempus, et prædictis ordinatoribus electis præcise determinatum, a xvi^o die Martii anno Domini supradicto, et regni regis iii^tio, usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis tunc proxime sequens, et ab isto festo usque ad idem festum anno proximo revoluto, ad statuendum, ordinandum et diffiniendum omnia et singula quæ ad laudem Dei, ecclesiæ sanctæ, regis, hospitii sui, regni et populi, ut prædicitur, statui poterunt commodum et honorem; et quod ordinatores electi teneant et observent ac per se et suos teneri et observari faciant ordinationes faciendas cum perfectæ fuerint in omnibus suis articulis in eisdem expressis plenius et contentis; et si contingat quempiam ordinatorum, morte præveniente, quod absit, aut aliqua alia causa, legitime præpediri ne in ordinationibus faciendis libere procedere valeat, ut præfertur, liceat eisdem loco sui alium sub-

The king agrees to the appointment of Ordainers.

Term of office and power of Ordainers fixed.

[1] *concessit*] The letters patent, in French, from which the following lines are translated, were issued on the 16th of March 1310: Fœdera, ii. 105.

rogare, qui cum ceteris[1] ordinatoribus procedere et tractare poterit in præmissis; liceat etiam eisdem ordinatoribus se ipsos inter se assecurare, ligare, mutuo jurare, ad faciendum, ordinandum, ac etiam ad observandum, et observari faciendum omnia et singula supradicta, absque calumpnia regis aut sui consilii in futurum. Ista regis concessio cum conditionibus prænotatis contenta sunt in quadam litera patente sub sigillo regis penes prælatos et comites remanente, cujus copia scribitur in alio libro inter incidentia cronicorum; ibidemque sequitur copia alterius patentis sub sigillis prælatorum, comitum et baronum, penes regem residentis, in quo continentur nomina procerum terræ, qui petitionem præfatam a domino rege postulabant; de quibus electi sunt sex episcopi, scilicet Londoniensis, Sarisberiensis, Cicestrensis, Norwicensis, Landavensis, et Menevensis; viii° comites, videlicet Gloucestriæ, Lincolniæ, Lancastriæ, Penbrokiæ, Herfordiæ, Richemundiæ, Warewyk, Arundelli; et vi. barones, videlicet Hugo de Veer, Willelmus Mareschall, Robertus filius Rogeri, Hugo de Curteney, Willelmus Martin, Johannes de Grey, qui supradictas ordinationes componere debeant et tractare.[2] In quo etiam patente inseritur una clausula, continens quod ista concessio, per regem facta, et potestas per eundem præfatis ordinatoribus commissa, non trahantur iterum in consuetudinem aut præjudicium domini regis vel heredum suorum quovismodo calumpniam aut gravamen, sed tantummodo de mera regis gratia et sua spontanea et libera voluntate.

A.D. 1310. March. Powers of the Ordainers.

Names of the Ordainers elected.

The king's consent is not to be made a precedent.

Item eodem anno, in consilio Viennæ celebrato, Clemente papa v^to^ præsidente, lectis Templariorum depositionibus prænotatis, unanimi consensu consilii ordo fratrum Militiæ Templi deletur et inperpetuum annullatur; et qui habitum aut ordinem in posterum

Abolition of the order of the Temple

[1] *ceteris*] certis, H. C.

[2] See vol. i. pp. 169–172.

A.D. 1310. suscitabit excommunicationis sententiæ et anathemati perpetue subjacebit.

Papal grant of a tenth to the king.

Anno Domini M°CCC°X°, et regni regis iiii^to^, decima triennalis ecclesiæ sanctæ, per dominum[1] papam regi Angliæ in subsidium guerræ suæ concessa, infra annum et dimidium integraliter est soluta. Item eodem anno, ii° nonas Martii, Antonius de Bek, episcopus Donelmensis et patriarcha Jerusalem, apud Eltham juxta Londonias obiit, et Dunelmiæ sepelitur. Raro legimus Anglicum tantam habuisse dignitatem ut patriarcha diceretur; de quo etiam opinatur quod si vixisset dissensionem quæ sequitur inter regem et comites optime terminaret; et sic fecit temporibus nobilissimi regis Edwardi ultimo jam defuncti. Tanta namque discordia inter ipsum regem et comites habebatur, nec modicum interfuit quin una pars vi et armis alteram expugnaret. Sed discretus et providus antistes supradictus reipublicæ destructionem et regni subversionem perpendebat, si inter se rex et comites conflixissent; regem adiit et ipsius animi ferocitatem verbis ponderosis et pacificis temperabat, dicens, "Domine mi[2] "rex, intendis tuos ligios expugnare? avertatur, quæso, "furor tuus, et ira tua, et memorare quantas civitates "et regna bella civilia subverterunt. Quid valet rex "cum sua gens contraria sibi fuerit, et repugnans? "Quia juxta philosophum omnis virtus unita fortior "est se dispersa; et in Evangelio omne regnum in "se divisum desolabitur. Condescendat ergo, rogo, "potestas et excellentia regalis, assitque mansuetudo "et temperantia paternalis." Et statim ad comites se convertit, quorum corda verbis asperis et comminatoriis dissolvebat, dicens: "Quid arrogantes et de vestris "viribus præsumentes, degeneres et ingrati, domino "vestro regi calcaneum erigitis indiscrete? Pensate, "rogo, quod membrorum et vitæ punitio in manibus

Death of Antony Bek, March 6, 1311.

His conduct during the quarrel of Edward I. and the earls.

His speech to the king.

His address to the earls.

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[1] *dominum*] dictum, C.

[2] *mi*] noster, C.

"regiis semper manet. Cur etiam non recolitis quod "si omnes[1] contra regem vestrum ferro vestiti fueritis, "exheredati eritis et proscripti? Humiliamini ergo "sub manu potenti regis vestri, et sic vobis regiam "inclinabitis majestatem Scribitur namque, 'superbis "'resistit Deus, humilibus vero dat gratiam.'" Hiis et hujusmodi rationibus hinc et inde propositis, dissensiones inter regem et comites suscitatas compescuit sæpius et sedavit: unde supponitur a plerisque quod, si talis mediator episcopus adhuc esset, inter regem et comites discordia non duraret. A.D. 1311. Speech of Antony Bek in the preceding reign.

Electis nobilibus viris supradictis circa[2] præfatas ordinationes laborantibus, pœnituit dominum regem tantam potestatem eis contulisse, et quod[3] patentes super hoc illis tradidit consignatas. Unde comites Gloucestriæ, Warenniæ,[4] et Cornubiæ, necnon alii regis familiares, præfatis ordinationibus indies reclamabant, quod omnes sibi timebant ex hoc prælium suscitari;[5] ordinatores nihilominus in suis operibus processerunt. Quibus peractis et in scriptis compilatis, in parliamento Londoniis ultimo kalendas Octobris, puplicantur, et quinto die mensis ejusdem dominus rex dictas ordinationes acceptavit et approbavit, præcipiens eas in singulis comitatibus recitari, et in perpetuum firmiter observari; æstimans quod cum comite Cornubiæ, sicut prius, de vita et membris poterit dispensare. Postea dominus rex familiarium suorum ductus consiliis, per sua brevia præfatas ordinationes revocavit, et in quibusdam comitatibus illa revocatio nunquam extitit puplicata. Proceedings of the Ordainers. Opposition of the king's friends. Ordinances published, Sept. 30. The king revokes them.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XI°, regni regis v^to^, in fine mensis Aprilis dominus Willelmus de Grenefelde, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, visitavit maximam partem epi- Visitation of Durham.

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[1] *omnes*] simul or semel? B.
[2] *circa*] tunc, C.
[3] *et quod . . . et*] om. C.
[4] *Warenniæ*] Carnerviæ, B.
[5] *suscitari*] suscitaturi, MSS.

A.D. 1311. May.

scopatus Dunelmensis; et iiii^to die Maii priorem et capitulum ejusdem, et residuum episcopatus continue diebus sequentibus visitavit.

Gaveston banished by the 20th ordinance.

Et qui voluerit causam exilii domini Petri de Gavastone comitis Cornubiæ scire plenius vel audire, legat capitulum vicesimum ordinationum quæ continentur in alio libro inter incidentia Cronicorum; in quo capitulo præponuntur causæ, et postea exilium ab omnibus terris domino regi Angliæ subjectis, ita quod nunquam redeat nec in regis comitiva moram trahat; et præfixus est sibi dies Omnium Sanctorum, citra quem exire debeat apud Doveriam et non alibi, sub pœna quæ competit transgressori.[1] Puplicato igitur exilio comitis Cornubiæ supradicti, supplicaverunt ordinatores domino regi per comites Gloucestriæ, Penbrokiæ, Herfordiæ, et alios clericos et barones, quod omnes parentes et propinqui Petri de Gavastone amoveantur a comitiva domini regis, nunquam sibi in alio officio servituri; et similiter omnes alienigenæ tam de Vasconia quam alii, qui fuerunt de familia sæpedicti domini Petri de Gavastone, amoveantur de officiis in hospitio domini regis et reginæ; et quia nonnulli Anglici in suis officiis indebite se gesserunt, videlicet domini de Charletone, Johannes de Bek, Johannes de Sapy, Willelmus de Vallibus, Johannes de Hothome, Gerardus Salvayn, milites, amoveantur ab officiis et balliviis omnibus domini regis, nunquam ipsius officia iterum recepturi, neque domino regi in amministrationibus aliqualiter sint propinqui; et quod jus et rectitudo fiat episcopo Cestrensi, juxta tenorem magnæ cartæ et ordinationum, de terris et aliis bonis suis hostiliter deprædatis; et quod domini Ingelardus de Warlee et Rogerus de Welworthe a regis præsentia perpetuo sint remoti. Ista petitio magnatum facta domino regi, ut prædicitur, scribitur post ordinationes in alio libro

Banishment of his relations.

Other persons removed from the king's service.

Restitution to bishop Langton.

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[1] See the Ordinances, cap. 20; Statutes of the Realm, i. 162.

consequenter.[1] Item quia dominus Henricus de Beaumunt post tempus ordinationum recepit de domino rege terram de Man, et alios redditus, amministrationes, terras et libertates, aliis donari procuravit, contra ordinationes supradictas, nec non pluries male consiluit domino regi, ordinatum est quod a consilio regis pro suo perpetuo sit expulsus, nec unquam regi adhæreat, nisi in parliamento vel guerra, et non nisi legitime fuerit evocatus. Et omnes terræ dicti Henrici infra regnum Angliæ capiantur in manum regis quousque satisfecerit regi de vero valore terræ de Man, et exituum, libertatum et aliorum reddituum, quos recepit post ordinationes sæpedictas; et, si in aliquo contra istam ordinationem venire præsumpserit quovismodo, sit exheredatus ab omnibus terris per dominum regem infra regnum Angliæ sibi datis.[2] Item ibidem: quia compertum est per examinationem prælatorum, comitum et baronum, quod per procurationem et instigationem dominæ de Veschi[3] dominus rex dedit Henrico de Beaumunt fratri suo et aliis diversis personis terras, redditus, libertates et ballivas in dampnum et dedecus regis et manifestam exheredationem coronæ, ordinatum est quod a curia et hospitio domini regis et reginæ recedat et domi resideat, nunquam iterum reditura inibi ad morandum.

A.D. 1311. Ordinance against Henry de Beaumont, and the lady de Vescy.

Petrus rediit in Angliam.

Item, secundum vim et virtutem ordinationum prædictarum Petrus de Gavastone sæpedictus exilium admisit et modicum exulavit, quia ante Nativitatem

Gaveston returns.

[1] This is the document printed in the Annales Londonienses, above, vol. i. pp. 198, sq.

[2] This is from the 22nd chapter of the Ordinances: Statutes of the Realm, i. 163.

[3] Ordinances, cap. 23, ibid.

A.D. 1312. January. Gaveston at York.

Domini in Angliam est reversus, domino regi sicut prius adhæsit, ipsiusque secretarius est effectus; nec multum post Epiphaniam Domini in comitiva regis venit Eboracum, ubi comitissa conjux sua filiam peperit; ob quam causam ibidem per tempus aliquot morabatur.

Indignation of the barons.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XII°, perpendentes regni proceres ab eis regis animum elongatum, nec curantem leges et regni consuetudines, prout per sacramentum in coronationis suæ solempnitate præstitum tenetur, inviolabiliter observare, sed personam demeritis suis exigentibus proscriptam secum familiariter retinere, mores regis indiscretos et incompositos, per legum et ordinationum rigores, compescere disponebant. Nichilominus dominus rex non sano ductus consilio, regni regimen parvipendens, iiii^to^ idus Aprilis cum præfato Petro de Gavastone usque Novum Castrum super Tynam est profectus, habens secum quosdam Anglicos in comitiva qui per ordinationes a regis præsentia [debuerunt] separari; quos Thomas comes Lancastriæ statuit insequi vehementer, volens illos secundum ordinationes de regis expellere comitiva. Hoc comperto dissolutum est cor eorum, et cum omni festinatione rex cum sæpedicto Petro, Henrico de Bellomonte et Eadmundo de Malolacu, et alii secretarii cum eisdem de Novo Castro fugientes, vi^to^ idus Maii usque Schardeburghe navigio pervenerunt, dimissis ibidem suis equis cum reliquo apparatu timore perterriti persequentis. Paucis diebus evolutis, præfatoque Petro in castro de Scardeburghe dimisso, victualibus et armis munito, rex recessit et abiit Eboracum. Hoc igitur comiti Lancastriæ nuntiato, misit statim comites de Pembroke et Garenniæ, adjuncto sibi Henrico de Percy, cum non modica manu armatorum; qui castrum obsederunt inclusosque per crebros insultus in dies infestabant; nec multum post miserunt præfati domini obsesso comiti prænotato, ut sub spe pacis egrederetur,

The king comes with Gaveston to Newcastle, April 10.

Flight to Scarborough, May 10.

Edward goes to York.

Scarborough besieged.

et in ecclesia fratrum Prædicatorum ejusdem villæ cum eisdem locuturus accederet, si forsan inter ipsos aliquam viam rationabilem poterint invenire; quod et factum est, et illis ibidem convenientibus, præfati duo comites et dominus de Percy in præsentia Corporis Christi tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis juraverunt quod, si dictus dominus Petrus vellet cum eis domum proficisci, ipsum et regni proceres concordarent, vel, si non, ipsum reducerent, et salvum et sanum in castro reponerent, ut tunc erat, finem expectaturum quem sibi fortuna voluerit ministrare. Hiis igitur gestis præfatus comes Cornubiæ seipsum et castrum de Scardeburghe præfatis dominis commendavit sub spe promissionis et juramenti sibi facti. Quibus igitur versus partes australes itinerantibus, quadam die inter Bannebery et Davyngtre, in quadam villa vocata Dadyngtone hospitati sunt; ubi de custodia comitis de Pembroke vi et armis, vel saltim ex præmissione,[1] ut dicebatur, et ex proposito, per comitem de Warwyk, sæpedictus Petrus de Gavastone eripitur et apud Warwyk carcerali custodiæ mancipatur.

A.D. 1312. May. Gaveston is persuaded to put himself in the power of the earl of Pembroke.

He is carried off and imprisoned at Warwick.

Item quia paulo superius tetigimus qualiter [rex] ordinationes supradictas acceptavit, præcipiens ut per totum regnum puplicarentur, et in omnibus suis articulis servarentur, ac postea quorundam ductus consilio dictas ordinationes[2] revocavit, quæ quidem revocatio non omnibus innotuit, quibus ipsarum publicatio fuerat nuntiata; modo superest ut dicamus qualiter juxta præfatas ordinationes circa transgressoris punitionem sit processum. Circa idem tempus Willelmus Inge et Henricus Sprigonelle, justiciarii per breve deputati, ut gaiolam de Warwik judicialiter liberarent, officium

How the ordinance against Gaveston was enforced.

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[1] *præmissione*] permissione, C. H.

[2] "Hæ ordinationes extant in co-" "dice Cottoniano Claud. D. Pub-" "licatæ sunt ad S. Paulum, præ-" "sente rege, per episcopum Saris-" "beriensem, jubente archiepiscopo" "Roberto Winchelsy, anno v^to regis," "anno Domini MCCC. undecimo." MS. C. in marg.

A.D. 1312. June.

He is brought before the justices Inge and Spigurnel; beheaded June 19; and buried later at Langley.

sibi impositum juxta regni consuetudinem perfecerunt; ultimo coram eis sæpedictus Petrus est præsentatus; qui auctoritate ordinationum prædictarum, de quarum revocatione illi comitatui non constabat, suis demeritis in eisdem ordinationibus contentis coram ipso recitatis, judicatus est tanquam regis et regni proditor decollari; et sic xiii° kalendas Julii inter Gaversyk et Blakelawe abscissione capitis est peremptus.[1] Ista siquidem comitis decapitatio, paribus terræ nec præsentibus nec vocatis, odium perpetuum inter regem et comites suscitavit, unde nobilium virorum interitus est subsecutus. Corpus vero cum capite comitis decollati Oxoniam delatum, et inter fratres Prædicatores conservatum, quousque per dominum regem apud Langelay fuerat cœnobium ordinatum, quod per Prædicatores statuit inhabitari, ac ibidem inter eosdem corpus comitis sepeliri.

Death of the emperor Henry VII.

Item circa idem tempus innotuit nobis quod Henricus de Lustyngbourghe inperator Romanorum in partibus Italiæ veneno interiit per confessorem suum, ut dicebatur, ordinis Prædicatorum, qui ipsum communicando per calicem interfecit,[2] et justo Deo disponente, licet tantæ nequitiæ non condignam, acerbam tamen mortem pro demeritis subiit et horrendam.

Pacification, October 21.

Item xii° kalendas Novembris rex et magnates terræ concordati sunt, quibus etiam subitam invasionem[3] apud Novum Castrum, ac etiam rerum suarum, equorum et

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[1] *peremptus*] punitus, C. H. Compare Ann. de Melsa, ii. 328.

[2] *interfecit*] Cf. Ann. de Melsa, ii. 320.

[3] *invasionem*] mansionem, C. H. "Hujus concordationis exemplar "servat codex Cottonianus Clau"dius D. 2; ubi inter cetera sic: "'accordes qe les lettres de sum"'mondre son parliament a tenir a "'Westmoster soient totes dune "'fourme, solom ceo qe ad este "'use en touz temps;' deinde "literis salvi conductus datis pro"ceres ad parliamentum veniunt et "obedientiam regi faciunt. Sequi"tur ibidem statutum de pretio "victualium (1) Westm. xiiii. die "Martii, anno regni octavo, (2) "ibidem die xx° Febr. ejusdem "anni." C. in marg. Compare Ann. de Melsa, ii. 328.

thesauri surreptionem sibi factam, necnon obsidionem castri de Scardeburghe, mortemque sæpedicti Petri perdonavit totaliter et remisit. A.D. 1312.

Item eodem anno circa mediam horam noctis præcedentis festum Sancti Bricii episcopi et confessoris, natus est Edwardus tertius post conquæstum, et sextus post Brutum; unde scribitur versus:— Birth of Edward III., Nov. 13.

" Hunc natum cura, virgo vincens nocitura,
" Casta creatura, quæ salvasti peritura,
" De puero pura specialis sit tibi cura,
" Ut permansura sibi semper sint sua jura."

Anno Domini M°CCC°XIII°, a xix° die mensis Februarii usque ad xxiiii^um diem Martii, capta sunt castra de Rokesbourghe et Edyngburghe,[1] in terramque diruta et prostrata per Robertum de Bruys se gerentem pro rege Scotiæ; ne forte, si bellum ingruerit contra ipsum, magnates Scotiæ ibi refugium quærerent latitantes, nec sibi dum necesse fuerit subvenirent. Posteaque plurima castella aliasque munitiones propter eandem causam solotenus dissipavit. A.D. 1313. Demolition of the castles of Scotland by Robert Bruce.

Item eodem anno vacante sede ecclesiæ Cantuariensis per mortem Roberti de Wynchelse, v° idus Maii in fata decedentis, et in vigilia Ascensionis Domini apud Cantuariam sepulti; magister Thomas de Cobham theologus in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem est electus, sed per summum pontificem Clementem v^tum ad regis instantiam non admissus; intervenientibus mille marcis, Waltherus Raginaldi[2] præfectus ecclesiæ supradictæ. Thomas Cobham elected to Canterbury. Walter Reynolds preferred.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XIIII°, nono die Aprilis, Clemens papa v^tus viam universæ carnis est ingressus, qui constitutiones edidit quæ Clementinæ vocantur; quas Johannes papa xxii^us puplicavit,[3] et librum vii^um Decretalium nominavit; qui etiam in consilio Viennæ celebrato, ut inferius est expressum, Templariorum A.D. 1314. Death of Clement V. John XXII. succeeds.

[1] *et Edyngburghe*] om. C.

[2] *Raginaldi*] Regenaldi, B. Cf. Ann. de Melsa, ii. 329.

[3] *puplicavit*] Cf. Annales de Melsa, ii. 315; Knighton, c. 2533.

A.D. 1314. Scandal in France.

ordinem delevit et in perpetum annullavit. Item eodem anno duo milites regni[1] Franciæ, accusati super illicita commixtione carnali cum regina Navarriæ et sorore sua, capiebantur, postea vivi[2] decoriati, et tandem in patibulo sunt suspensi.[3] Item eodem anno, die Dominica quæ fuit vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et in crastino, commissum est prælium apud Bannokburne juxta Strivelyn inter regem Angliæ et Robertum Bruys regem Scotiæ; utrisque diebus pugnaverunt, sed et Scoti prævaluerunt, arrogantiam namque et invidiam Anglicorum per Scotorum nequitiam corripuit Dominus et punivit; unde factum quod non uniformiter sed sparsim Anglici sunt congressi, ita[4] quod nullus alteri valuit subvenire; et ceciderunt illo die comes Gloucestriæ Robertus de Clifford, Paganus Typtoft, Egidius de Argenton, Willelmus Marscallus, Johannes de Grey, Eadmundus de Malo Lacu et plures alii barones, baneretti et milites, quorum nomina longum esset numerare, vitam pariter finierunt. Dominus Willelmus Deyncourt, et Reginaldus frater ejus ibidem miles factus, similiter obierunt; capiebantur etiam ibidem comites de Herford et Anegos, aliique proceres et milites numero sexies viginti, præter clericos et armigeros, qui postea sub diversis pretiis redimuntur. Insuper comes de Pembroke, Henricus de Bello Monte, et multi magnates cordetenus Pharisei, a certamine recesserunt, plures etiam milites et scutarii projectis armis fugierunt. Itaque rex Angliæ perpendens fortunam sibi totaliter repugnare, castrum de Strivelyn adiit, ibique refugium requisivit; sed Alexander de Moubray miles, qui castri custodiam de domino rege Angliæ tunc habebat; et tamen feliciter sic evenit. Præfatus namque custos, sciens victualia sua sibi et suis non posse sufficere, ac etiam timens sibi quod

June 24. Battle of Bannockburn.

Slaughter and flight of the English lords.

The king at Stirling refused admittance.

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[1] *regni*] reginæ, B.

[2] *vivi*] per vim, C.

[3] *suspensi*] Cf. Ann. de Melsa, ii. 318.

[4] *ita*] juxta, C.

Robertus de Bruys potita victoria castrum peteret et expugnaret, noluit dominum suum regem Angliæ tanto periculo, quin potius confusioni perpetuæ, subjacere, et propter hoc castrum regis renuit reserare. Nec multum post custodis contigit conjectura. Nam Robertus de Bruys prædictam munitionem petiit et obsedit, ac illi deintus,[1] non habentes unde obsidionis incommoda sustinerent, castrum reddere compelluntur, mobilibus suis et vita obsessis singulis tunc concessa. Quod et factum est. Scoti igitur, propter arridentem sibi fortunam, in superbiam eriguntur, nec de concesso sibi triumpho sunt contenti, quin cum non modico exercitu fines Angliæ boriales usque Rychemundiam deprædarent, et per incendium patrias devastantes reversi sunt, secum captivos plurimos abducentes.

A.D. 1314. June. He thus escaped capture.

The Scots ravage as far as Richmond.

Item eodem anno in parliamento Londoniis edito, in quadragesima tunc sequente, confirmavit dominus rex iterum ordinationes præfatas, ut ex hoc corda comitum sibi poterit melius coaptare; sed ista concordia, sicut pristina, similis est apostemati superficialiter sanato, quod quidem pejor est plaga recente, et difficilior ad sanandum. In eodem igitur parliamento fuit ordinatum quod melior bos vivus venalis crassus de grano non pastus vendatur de cetero pro xvi. solidis et non supra; si vero de grano sit pastus et crassus[2] pro xxiiii. solidis venundetur, et melior vacca viva crassa pro xii. solidis; porcus vero duorum annorum crassus pro iii. s. et iiii. d.; multo lanutus crassus pro xx. denariis. Multo tonsus crassus pro xiiii.^{d}; auca crassa pro ii.^{d} ob.; capo bonus et crassus pro ii.^{d}. Gallina crassa pro i.^{d}, et xxiiii. ova pro i.^{d}, et amodo sic vendantur. Ecce mirabilis ordinatio et dissona rationi, videlicet quod homo de rebus venalibus debeat statuere, vel certum pretium assignare; cum certissime constat quod fœcunditas et sterilitas telluris et omnium virentum, nec non et aliorum fœtantium

A.D. 1315. The ordinances confirmed in Parliament.

Ordinance about prices.

Absurdity of such legislation.

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[1] *deintus*] demptus, B.

[2] *de grano . . . crassus*] om. C.

A.D. 1315. singulorum, in sola divinitatis potentia permanet et consistit; sequitur ergo necessario quod non secundum arbitrium hominum sed juxta fertilitatem fructuum sequetur pretium singulorum.[1]

Roger Mortival bishop of Salisbury.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XV° magister Rogerus Mortivax, decanus ecclesiæ Linconiæ, in episcopum Sarisberiensem est electus. Item eodem anno fuit magna caristia bladi[2] circa festum Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis et in autumpno sequente, ita quod quarterium frumenti vendebatur communiter per Angliam pro xxx. solidis et quandoque pro xxxii. solidis, et ad minus pro xxiiii. solidis vendebatur; et ad idem pretium quarterium salis albi; similiter ordium, fabæ et pisæ pro xiiii. solidis,[3] et brasium pro xvi. s.; avena pro x. s. vendebatur. Et memorandum quod terræ sterilitas et omnium fructuum raritas sive defectus, ac etiam omnium cibariorum venalium caristia, quamvis non ad eadem pretia, duravit continue per sex annos; similiter mortalitas hominum et morina armentorum tanta, talis et continua fuit, quanta et qualis a seculo non est visa. Nec poterant mortuorum corpora propter fœtorem diutius reservari quin ante prandium et post cotidie sunt humata.

Dearth and high prices, for six years.

The Scots plunder Hartlepool.

Item eodem anno Scoti villam de Hertipoole deprædaverunt, et cum captivis et spoliis ad Scotiam redierunt. Item eodem anno, circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, Scoti Karleolum obsederunt, et nihil proficientes obsidionem dimiserunt. Item eodem anno circa festum Omnium Sanctorum Adam Banastre miles surrexit[4] contra dominum suum Lancastriæ, sed cito post capitur et per comitem decollatur. Item infra octavas Sancti Martini Jacobus Ireys, custos castri Bernardi per regem deputatus, relictam domini Roberti de Clifford prope castrum iter agentem rapuit, et tan-

Fate of Adam Banaster.

Case of abduction.

[1] *singulorum*] etc., add. B.
[2] *bladi*] om. C.
[3] *et ad idem . . . solidis*] om. C.
[4] *surrexit*] om. C.

quam propriam retinuit, sed per dominos comitem de Penbrok, Bartholomæum de Badelesmere et Henricum filium Hugonis, milites, ab ipso eripitur et ad propria dimittitur remeare. Item dominus Willelmus de Grenefelde, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, die Sancti Nicholai viam carnis generalem est ingressus, et in majori ecclesia beati Petri Eboraci die Sanctæ Luciæ virginis est sepultus. Item die Sanctæ Agnetis virginis Willelmus de Meltone, tunc præpositus Beverlaci, in archiepiscopum Eboraci est electus, dominoque regi præsentatus et acceptus traxit moram in curia fere per duos annos antequam fuerat consecratus; qui anno Domini M°CCC°XVII° rediit de curia circa festum Omnium Sanctorum.

A.D. 1315. Restoration of the lady. Death of archbishop Greenfield. William de Melton elected, goes to the Roman court.

Item anno eodem, in quindena Sancti Hillarii, in parliamento apud Lincolniam concordati sunt rex et comes Lancastriæ, qui etiam juratus fuit de consilio regis, ad addendum et subtrahendum de ordinationibus prius factis, prout regi et regno melius viderit expedire.

A.D. 1316. Parliament at Lincoln, Jan. 27.

Item anno Domini M°CCC°XVI°, octavo die mensis Augusti, dominus Jacobus natione Bituricensis, episcopus Portuensis, electus est in papam, vocatus Johannes papa xxii^us: [1] qui sedit post Clementem. Hic septimum librum decretalium innovavit et puplicavit quæ constitutiones Clementinæ primitus vocabantur. Hic etiam litteratos promovit, disciplinam triplicis linguæ, scilicet Græcæ, Ebraicæ et Latinæ apud studia catholici orbis instituit, ac, dum in primis acceptiones munerum omne aurum et argentum abhorrere videretur, dampnavit primo pluralitates beneficiorum ita ut, unico beneficio per curatum rectorem acceptato, ipse papa reliquorum fructus vacantium per aliquot annos optineret; insuper et aliorum beneficiorum per mortem seu resignationem vacantium primos fructus reservavit, ita ut rector institutus taxationem beneficii sui ac residuum acceptaret; ex quo quidem negotio innumeri thesauri ad papæ

John XXII. elected pope. His accomplishments.

Higden, Polychronicon, vii. 42.

[1] This is in Knighton, c. 2533, from Higden, lib. 7, cap. 42.

A.D. 1316. cameram devenerunt. Bella tamen a duce Bavariæ, qui se pseudo fecerat imperatorem, jugiter sustinuit et constanter. Higden. Polychron. vii. 42.

Floods and dearth. Item eodem anno ex inundatione ymbrium æstivalium et autumpnalium tanta provenit caristia ut quarterium frumenti per totum annum pro xxx. solidis vendebatur. Item

Vacancies at Ely and Winchester. eodem anno episcopatus Eliensis vacavit, cui præfectus[1] Johannes de Hothome, et Wyntoniensis similiter, cui Johannes de Sandale ad regis instantiam est admissus.

A.D. 1317. July. The king remonstrates with Lancaster for holding meetings of armed men. Anno Domini M°CCC°XVII°, rex Angliæ circa festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, per suas litteras comiti Lancastriæ directas, propter convocationes privatas magnatum et populi indebite factas, ac etiam retentiones[2] armatorum stipendiis insolitis et excessivis, unde metu non modico populus est concussus, ipsum comitem arguebat, et propter alia quæ per ipsius responsiones proxime[3] subsequentes poterunt apparere; de litteris namque responsoriis comitis Gallice scriptis propter illarum prolixitatem rationes collegimus subsequentes: præmissisque verbis salutatoriis ita dicit;

The earl's answer. "scire velit dominatio vestra reverenda, quod nullas fecimus "convocationes propter quas moveri debeat populus aut ter- "reri, neque gentes aliquas propter regni perturbationem aut "pacis impedimentum retinemus, sed propter quietem populi "et pacis stabilimentum, ac etiam coronæ vestræ commodum "et honorem specialiter et integre reservandum; et non sine "causa nec modicum admiramur quod de retinentia nos argui- "tis in præsenti; cum nuper scripsistis nobis quod cum nostro "servitio, necnon meliori ac fortiori modo quo poterimus, ad "vos apud Novum Castrum in crastino Sancti Laurentii per- "sonaliter accedere deberemus; propter quod in quantum pos- "sumus cum armatis quocunque volueritis parati erimus vobis- "cum procedere, vita comite et Domino disponente; et quoad "alias litteras vestras per quas nobis insinuastis ad vos acce- "dere xxi° die Julii apud Nothingham, ad tractandum vobis- "cum et aliis de consilio vestro ibidem reperiendis, super "adventu hostium vestrorum Scotiæ, qui regnum Angliæ sunt

[1] *præfectus*] præfatus, C.
[2] *retentiones*] retroeuntes, B.
[3] *proxime*] xxi., C. H.

"ingressi hostiliter invadendo; ad quem diem nostram habere "velitis absentiam excusatam eo quod non vigemus nec vale-"mus aliqualiter laborare; ad hoc, domine reverende, recolere "debetis quod in parliamento ultimo tento Lincolniæ, eo quod "regnum vestrum per insufficientes et minus ydoneas personas "regi videbatur, libere concessistis quod dominus Cantuarien-"sis cum aliis episcopis et comitibus una nobiscum et domino "Bartholomæo de Badelesmere, deberet, per providam et cir-"cumspectam discretionem aliorum procerum de vestro con-"silio juratorum, dirigere et melius ordinare regimen regni "vestri, ita quod improbi et incompositi ministri, legum præ-"varicatores, non salubria sed placentia prædicantes, de vestro "sint latere separati, nunquam in aliquibus officiis vobis "ulterius servituri; et quod ista ordinatio vestra semper sta-"bilis sit et firma; et super hoc Londonias adivimus sapien-"tiores et magis providos vestri consilii, cum quibus super "hospitio vestro et regimine regni vestri ordinavimus præcise "quod necessarium videbatur, et in scriptis per dominos Bar-"tholomæum de Badelesmere et Willelmum Ingo vestræ "reverentiæ mittebamus, quæ quidem adhuc nullatenus ob-"servantur. Præterea, domine reverende, in ordinationibus "bonæ memoriæ domini Roberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi "factis, compertum fuit quod plures personæ in vestris secre-"tariis et aliis obsequiis privatis et publicis commorantes "fuerunt, personarum et munerum acceptores, veritatis et "justitiæ corruptores, ac etiam insufficientes et minus ydoneæ "in regiis officiis ministrare; ordinatum fuit quod deberetis "omnes tales a vobis et vestris obsequiis totaliter amovere, "quod quidem facere renuistis, sed eo ipso cariores habuistis, "et alios ejusdem conditionis, pejores illis, familiarius attrax-"istis, non obstante quod præfatas ordinationes vestris patenti-"bus confirmastis, et etiam prælatos, comites et barones et "alios ministros regios ad illas in omnibus suis articulis "observandas per juramenti vinculum astrinxistis, prout per "litteras vestras inde confectas penes nos et alios regni pro-"ceres residentes oportuerit apparere, cum tamen in opere "nil effectualiter adimpletur. Et super eo quod præfixo die "ad vos non accedimus, nolite quæsumus admirari, quia "negotia super quibus nostrum consilium requiritis et assen-"sum, juxta litterarum vestrarum tenorem, in parliamento "paribus terræ præsentibus deberent ostendi veraciter et "tractari; ad hoc quidem servandum omnes juravimus, ipsi

A.D. 1317. July. Argument of the earl of Lancaster addressed to the king; and excuses.

He accuses the king of contemning the ordinances.

The business for which the king has summoned him ought to be treated in parliament.

A.D. 1317. July. Lancaster's letter to the king.

"scitis, nec deberetis extra parliamentum velle statuere vel "tractare quod in parliamento debeat diffiniri. Ad hæc; "super eo quod in litteris vestris nobis ultimo directis sig-"nificastis, quod inimici vestri Scotiæ regnum Angliæ de "novo sunt ingressi hostiliter invadendo, super quo assensum "nostrum et consilium postulatis; credimus consilium vestrum "captum et diffinitum ulterius ex quo nobis et ceteris regni "proceribus per brevia præcepistis, quod ad certum diem "quilibet nostrum cum servitio suo vobiscum sit apud Novum "Castrum et ulterius, si necesse fuerit, valeat proficisci, ad "quem diem, si vos ipsi sitis, congregationi vestræ per Dei "gratiam volumus interesse." [1]

Two cardinals robbed on their way to Durham.

Item eodem anno, circa festum beatæ Mariæ Virginis, domini Gaucelinus tituli Sanctorum Martii, Marcellini et Petri presbiter, et Lucas de Flisco tituli Sancti Mariæ in Via Lata diaconus, cardinales, itinerantes versus Dunelmum pro consecratione domini Lodewyci de Bellomonte in episcopum dicti loci, spoliati fuerunt per prædones, tam de vectura sua quam de auro, pecunia et jocalibus preciosis. Electus vero, et dominus Henricus de Bellomonte frater ejus, capti et in castro de Mitteford [2] ad tempus custodiæ mancipati. Dominus itaque Gilbertus, hujus sceleris capitaneus et magister, circa festum Purificationis beatæ Mariæ Londoniis tractus fuit et suspensus ac membratim postea pro prædicto facinore est divisus. Eodem tempore solvebamus de singulis marcis iiii.[d] de temporalibus et spiritualibus pro expensis cardinalium prædictorum. Item quia papa Johannes xx[us]ii[us] circa treugam inter regna Angliæ et Scotiæ se sæpius intromisit, pro qua etiam præfatos cardinales de suo latere destinavit, quorum monita Robertus de Bruys noluit acceptare, sed tanquam pacis impeditor guerræ dilationem admittere renuit; sed et regem Angliæ conatus est totis viribus debellare; prædicti cardinales sedis apostolici nuncii auctoritate domini papæ supra-

Gilbert Middleton punished for the outrage.

Papal sentence against Robert Bruce.

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[1] I have not met with the original of this important letter.

[2] *Mitteford*] See Ann. de Melsa, ii. 334.

dicti præfatum Robertum de Bruys pro rege Scotorum se gerentem, necnon et omnes et singulos fautores, complices, adjutores, valitores, consiliarios et sequaces ejusdem, ac sibi adhærentes in inobedientiis, rebellionibus, et aliis excessibus, in processibus dictorum cardinalium et utriusque eorum contentis, clericos et personas ecclesiasticas ac laicos cujuscunque sint dignitatis, gradus, ordinis, auctoritatis, conditionis aut status, etiam si personæ ipsæ ecclesiasticæ archiepiscopali, primatiæ, legationis, vel episcopali, aut alia quavis præfulgeant dignitate, excommunicatos denunciarunt, regnumque Scotiæ, necnon terras alias ipsius Roberti, aliorumque suorum quorumcunque fautorum, complicum, adjutorum, valitorum, consiliariorum, et sequacium, ac eidem quomodolibet adhærentium in præmissis, ecclesias cathedrales et alias quascunque infra regnum Scotiæ et terras dictorum adhærentium consistentes, ac monasteria, ceteraque loca ecclesiastica, necnon et aliorum famulorum, interdicto ecclesiastico subjacere denuntiarunt, et vitari præceperunt, tam diu denuntiari et vitari donec de prædictis inobedientiis, rebellionibus, excessibus, invasionibus, congressionibus, ac occupationibus, satisfecerint competenter ac mandatis apostolicis et dictorum dominorum cardinalium venerint humiliter parituri. Totus iste processus, et alia plura istam materiam tangentia, in alio libro reperies inter incidentia cronicorum.[1] Item eodem anno habuimus copiam bullæ per quam papa tunc dampnavit pluralitates beneficiorum, quæ incipit "Execrabilis"; cujus paulo ante meminimus, quæ etiam cum suis declarationibus scribitur in alio libro, ne forte illarum prolixitas legentibus

A.D. 1317. Papal sentence, published by the two cardinals.

Account of the bull *Execrabilis.*

[1] The bull, of which an abstract is here given, is printed in the Fœdera, ii. 362, from a transcript in the Record Office. It is dated at Avignon, June 28, 1318, and was delivered to the king at York on the 11th of November. The cardinals were, however, empowered to excommunicate the king's enemies by an earlier bull, dated Dec. 29, 1317, which possibly our author has confused with the other; Fœd. ii. 320.

A.D. 1317. Elopement of the countess of Lancaster.

fastidium generaret.[1] Item eodem anno uxor Thomæ Lancastriæ, videlicet filia Henrici de Lascy comitis Lincolniæ, recessit de comitiva et potestate domini sui supradicti, et comes de Warenna eam in suam custodiam tunc recepit. Item eodem anno, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum, dominus Willelmus de Meletone in archiepiscopum Eboracensem de curia rediit confirmatus; et, die Dominica proxima ante festum Sancti Mathæi apostoli et evangelistæ, in majori ecclesia beati Petri Eboraci fuit solemniter intronisatus.[2]

Inthronement of the archbishop of York.

A.D. 1318. Parliament at Leicester, April 12.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XVIII° apud Leycestriam, die Mercurii proxima ante Pascha floridum, in parliamento ibidem indicto, dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Norwicensis, Cicestrensis, Wyntoniensis, Landavensis, et Herefordensis episcopi, ac etiam Lancastriæ, Penbrokiæ, et Herfordensis comites, xxviii. barones, Willelmus de Bereforde et Walterus de Norwico, ibidem tunc præsentes, ad sancta Dei evangelia juraverunt quod ordinationes prius factas in omnibus suis articulis observabunt et facient observari, et quod mali, improbi et non ydonei regis consiliarii, sint amoti, et quod omnes terræ contra ordinationes per regem datæ in manum regis capiantur festinanter, et quod omnes illi qui terras de dono domini regis receperunt, attachientur ad computandum in scaccario de exitibus earundem, quæ regi pertinent et coronæ, et ad hoc inveniant securitatem interessendi proximo parliamento ad expectandum et recipiendum judicium et considerationem parium terræ, de terris et aliis rebus post ordinationes de dono domini regis habitis et receptis. Item omnes transgressiones per comitem Lancastriæ et suos factas, videlicet ad ducendum regem per viam asperitatis ut melius regat populum quam ante hæc tempora consuevit, tam de captione castrorum quam

Arrangements made for complete pacification.

[1] The bull "Execrabilis" is dated at Avignon, Dec. 1, 1317: it is a part of the Canon Law, as Extrav. Joh. xxiii. lib. 3, cap. 4.

[2] *intronisatus*] etc., etc., B.

bonorum mobilium quorumcunque, relaxentur et penitus remittantur. Pax Hugonis patris et Hugonis filii Dispensatorum talis est, quod ambo morabuntur de retinentia comitis Lancastriæ cum cc^tis[1] equitibus, sumptibus suis propriis ad terminum vitæ suæ; item omnes homines comitis et suorum, capti per ministros regis et incarcerati, erunt continuo liberati; et volentes cartas regias habere super transgressionibus prælibatis, cum petere voluerint optinebunt. Ecce legum mirabiles conditores; nam dominum suum regem, ut prædicitur, per asperitatem debent ad bonum regni regimen coartare; sed pacis corruptores per approbatas leges regni nolunt permittere castigari; maxillis regiis habenas imponunt, et qui pro demeritis patibulum meruit absolvunt. Hæc et hiis similia perseverantis odii fomitem ministrabant.

A.D. 1318. Terms for the reconciliation of the Despensers with the earl of Lancaster.

Item eodem anno, non multum post Pascha, Scoti villam de Alvertone, ecclesiam et adjacentem patriam incendio consumpserunt, ac deinde undique vastantes et spoliantes usque abathiam de Boultone perrexerunt et illam hostiliter deprædaverunt. Item eodem anno, die Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, apud Nothingham quidam literatus, qui apud Oxoniam scriptor erat, et Johannes vocabatur, debilitate capitis ut credebatur, vel instinctu diaboli ductus, immo seductus, dicebat se esse filium et heredem nobilissimi regis Edwardi proximo defuncti et in cunabulis pro alio nescio quo per obstetrices mutatum; convictus et equorum sequens calcanea est distractus.[2] Item eodem anno, die Lunæ proxima post festum Sancti Laurentii, apud Sortebrigge[3] juxta Lughteburghe osculati sunt mutuo dominus rex et comes Lancastriæ, et, sicut astantibus apparuit, concordati sunt. Item iii° idus Septembris domini cardinales prædicti de Londoniis

May. Northallerton burned by the Scots, who advance to Bolton.

July 20. An impostor punished at Nottingham.

Personal reconciliation of the king with Lancaster. August.

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[1] *cc^tis*] certis, C.
[2] See Knighton, c. 2535.
[3] Knighton, c. 2538.

A.D. 1318. October. News from Ireland. versus curiam redierunt. Item ii° idus Octobris innotuit nobis quod dominus Robertus de Bruys, Johannes de Soules seneschallus Scotiæ, et majores ejusdem, ad numerum xviii., cum quinque milibus peditum et amplius, sunt in Hibernia interfecti. Item statim post festum Omnium Sanctorum, in parliamento apud Eboracum, concessit dominus rex comiti Lancastriæ et suis omnibus cartam pardonationis omnium querelarum et calumpniarum quas habere poterit versus eosdem, tam pro morte Petri de Gavastone et Adæ Banastre, quam de quibuscunque aliis transgressionibus supradictis. Et in eodem parliamento amoti erant ab officiis suis seneschallus domini regis, thesaurarius, camerarius, et omnes vicecomites uno die. Item in eodem parliamento facta sunt quædam statuta, anno regis xii°, quæ scribuntur in alio libro inter Incidentia, ne legentibus tædium generaret.[1]

Parliament at York in November.

Charters of pardon.

Change of ministry.

Statute of York.

A.D. 1319. March. Parliament York. Anno Domini M°CCC°XIX°, statim post Pascha, in parliamento tento apud Eboracum, unanimi assensu ordinatum fuit quod dominus rex et omnes[2] magnates arriperent iter versus Scotiam in mense proximo post festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et, quod sumptus magnos talis progressio requirebat, et ad hoc regis ærarium minime sufficere videbatur, clerus sibi decimam, cives et burgenses xii^am^, et rurales xviii^am^ concesserunt. Item viii° idus Junii dominus Robertus de Neville miles apud Berwyk per Scotos interfectus est, et de sua comitiva multi capiebantur, et in fugam ceteri sunt conversi. Qui in mense Decembri proximo præcedente dominum Ricardum Marmaduk[3] seneschallum episcopatus Dunelmi super pontem Dunelmi interfecit, asserens ipsum esse regis et regni perfidum

Grants for the Scottish war.

Robert Neville slain at Berwick.

[1] *generaret*] etc., etc., add. B. The statute of York is printed among the Statutes of the Realm, i. 177. The roll of this parliament is printed in Cole's Records, pp. 1-54, and is not in the collected edition of the Rotuli Parliamentorum.

[2] *omnes*] om. C.

[3] *Marmaduk*] Marmeduk, B.

proditorem. Item non multum post dominus papa per bullam ratificavit sententiam in Scotos per cardinales prius latam, deditque potestatem archiepiscopo Eboracensi, episcopis Eliensi et Carliolensi, absolvendi omnes Scotos ad fidem et subjectionem regis Angliæ redeuntes, et dispensandi benignius cum eisdem. Item eodem anno, in fine mensis Augusti, rex Angliæ, comes Lancastriæ, et alii regni proceres, cum apparatu bellico ad expugnandum Robertum de Bruys sibi rebellantem, et auctoritate summi pontificis ut præmittitur excommunicatum, Scotiam sunt ingressi, et Berewycum obsederunt; sed valde modicum profuerunt. Ibidem rege et aliis optimatibus inter se familiariter conversantibus, antiquus hostis, concordiæ et caritatis expugnator, pessimas discordias inter regem et comitem suscitavit per interpositas personas, regis et procerum verba mutuo transferentes et nequiter interpretantes; verum pluries omiserunt, aliquid de suo sæpius apposuerunt, ita quod rex de magnatibus et ipsi de rege penitus diffidebant. Qui vero de regis latere suis demeritis exigentibus, ut paulo superius exprimitur, fuerant separati, apud regem de proditione quosdam de magnatibus diffamabant; et sic in incepto negotio nihil proficientes, inveteratum odium instigante diabolo invidia renovabat. Nec hoc latuit inimicos, sed, cognita dissensione, Scoti cum exercitu non modico Angliam intraverunt, patriam undique spoliantes, et incendentes, versus Eboracum gressus dirigentes, quousque prope Moitone super Swale pervenerunt, Thoma Randolf comite de Mureffe et Jacobo de Dowglas illorum ducibus constitutis. Auditis igitur hostium aditu et incursu, dominus Willelmus de Meleton archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Johannes de Hothome episcopus Eliensis tunc cancellarius Angliæ, Robertus de Pykerynge decanus ecclesiæ Eboracensis, abbates beatæ Mariæ Eboraci et de Seleby, cum multitudine plebis civitatis et patriæ, xii° die Septembris juxta Mitone

A.D. 1319. Papal bulls against the Scots.

August. Siege of Berwick.

Mischief-making and dissension in the English camp.

The Scots advance to Myton on Swale.

The archbishop collects a force and is defeated, Sept. 12, at Myton.

A.D. 1319. Sept. 12. Battle of Myton.

bellum cum hostibus componere præsumpserunt; et, non habentes ducem neque prælii instructorem, coram hostibus sunt dispersi; et est Anglorum cædes non modica subsecuta; plures etiam fluvius absorbuit quam gladius trucidavit. Major Eboraci et plures alii ibidem pariter obierunt, quamplures clerici, scutarii, et alii populares, capiebantur et postea redimuntur. Archiepiscopus et omnes alii præfati fugientes, miserante Domino, evaserunt; sed et vexillum archipræsulis triumphale, hastile cujus erat ex argento, et in cujus vertice ymago Domini nostri Jesu Christi in cruce figitur deaurata, protegente Domino, ad manus hostium non devenit. Crucifer namque equo citato aquis se dedit et natatu in ripam alteram vectus est, ibique adhærens cuidam salici equum reliquit, et in quodam specu densissimo crucem præsulis occultavit, et in noctis crepusculo sic evasit; nec longe a loco in quo crux fuerat occultata latuit quidam pauper, accedensque post recessum clerici, accepit crucem et in feni funiculis involutam in suo tugurio retinuit, quousque postmodum quæsita episcopo fuerat restituta.[1] Exinde Scoti usque pontem de Castelforde per iiii. leucas a Pontefracto distantem a parte boriali, patrias spoliantes, profecti sunt, et versus occidentem tendentes per Ayerdale et Wherfdale nonnullis villis a Scotis[2] dedicatis pepercerunt, captivos plurimos abduxerunt, et per Gratrehals versus Scotiam redeuntes circa festum Exaltationis sanctæ Crucis cum præda non modica propriam patriam sunt ingressi. Audientes iterum rex et comites Angliæ invasionem hostium prælibatam, obsidionem dissolverunt opinantes hostibus obviare, sed per unam Anglici, Scoti vero per aliam ut prædicitur, sunt reversi.

Defeat of the archbishop.

How his banner was saved.

The Scots advance to Castleford near Pomfret.

They retire about Sept. 14.

The siege of Berwick raised.

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[1] This is told in very similar language in the Annales de Melsa, ii. 337.

[2] *a Scotis*] aut locis, C. H.

De Templariis.[1]

A.D. 1319. Papal directions about the disposal of the Templars.

"Quia ad audientiam domini papæ pervenit quod non-" nulli fratres ordinis quondam militiæ Templi Jerusalem, " post sublationem ordinis memorati, inconsulto mentis " affectu se in Dominum[2] retorquentes, vestes præsumunt " induere laicales, seque gerunt pro laicis, et tanquam laici " in animarum suarum periculis conversantur; quidam etiam " eorundem se amplius mundi voluptatibus inmergentes de " facto matrimonia contrahunt, quæ potius contubernia dici " debent, in publico[3] ducunt uxores cum illis publice habi-" tantes, non attendentes quod professione quam in ingressu " dicti ordinis emiserunt ad continentiam et alia religionis " substantialia sic se perpetuo obligaverunt, quod per sub-" lationem dicti ordinis factam in generali consilio Viennæ " nequaquam fuerunt a votorum observantia absoluti; volens " igitur papa tantæ insolentiæ et dampnabilis præsumptionis " audaciæ de fratrum suorum consilio salubriter ac saluti " eorum de celeri et oportuno remedio providere, archiepi-" scopo Eboracensi districte præcipiendo mandavit, quate-" nus dictos fratres in sua diocesi commorantes ad suam " præsentiam convocaret, ipsosque diligenter moneret et sa-" lubriter induceret quod infra tres menses, a monitionis suæ " tempore computandos, transeant ad aliquam de religionibus " approbatis, ibidem Domino perpetuo servituri; prælatum " quoque et fratres domus seu monasterii, ad quæ transire " voluerint, cum diligentia inducat, ut ipsos in socios reci-" piant et in fratres; clericos tamen ut clericos, laicos ut " conversos, et sincera in Domino caritate pertractent. Quod " si forte prælatus seu fratres omnino id facere recusaverint, " ut eosdem quondam Templarios, et si non ut fratres, sal-" tim in domibus et monasteriis suis recipiant, ut in eis " Domino juxta votorum suorum observantiam famulentur, " cum diligentia moneat, et si necesse fuerit auctoritate apo-" stolica per censuram ecclesiasticam coherceat et compel-" lat; si vero dicti fratres quondam militiæ Templi, infra " prædictorum mensium spatium, post monitionem et induc-

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[1] This is an abstract of the bull of John XXII., dated at Avignon, Dec. 17, 1318; Mon. Angl. vi. 848, 849.

[2] *in Dominum*] in demum, C.; inde nimium, Mon. Angl. vi. 848.

[3] *in publico*] et præsente, C.

A.D. 1319.
Papal bull on the Templars.

"tionem hujusmodi aliquam de religionibus approbatis non "elegerint, vel ad illam non transierint, cum effectu in ea "secundum[1] modum perpetuo moraturi, stipendia ipsis per "alias litteras papæ pro vitæ sustentatione deputata, quibus "extunc ipsos fore privatos decrevit, eisdem subtrahi faciat, "domos et mansiones seu loca quæcunque ejusdem quon-"dam ordinis Templi seu ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Johannis "Jerusalem eis pro hujusmodi stipendiis assignata, vel quo-"cunque modo concessa, nihilominus auferantur. Ne autem "præfati fratres quondam militiæ Templi, domibus aut "locis aliis ad quæ transierint onerosi videantur, voluit "papa et ordinavit quod ipsis in præfatis domibus seu "monasteriis commorantibus, stipendia quæ per alias litteras "suas eis taxare mandavit et etiam assignare, faciat epi-"scopus quamdiu vixerint, ministrari."

A truce with the Scots.

Item eodem anno infra Natale Domini missis per dominum regem apud Berewyk super Twedam dominis episcopo Eliensi, comite Penbrokiæ, Hugone Dispensatore filio, et aliis magnatibus, inter duo regna Angliæ et Scotiæ treuga capitur biennalis.[2]

A.D. 1320. June.
Visit of the king and queen to France.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XX°, circa festum Sancti Botulphi transfretaverunt dominus rex et regina, comes Richemundiæ, et alii magnates, et fecit homagium regi Franciæ pro ducatu Aquitanniæ, ut dicebatur; et circa festum Sancti Jacobi redierunt. Item eodem anno circa festum Epiphaniæ Domini obiit Johannes Dalderby episcopus Lincolniensis, cujus meritis et precibus multis infirmatis divina beneficia largiuntur: et electus est magister Antonius de Bek theologus, ejusdem ecclesiæ cancellarius, in festo Sanctæ Agnetis secundæ,[3] sed, per archiepiscopum Cantuariensem non admissus, adivit curiam Romanam, quem papa repulit et ad regis instantiam ac etiam pecuniæ non modicæ interventionem præfectus est Henricus de Burghassche in episcopum ecclesiæ supradictæ.

Henry Burghersh made bishop of Lincoln.

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[1] *secundum*] servi, C.
[2] *biennalis*] etc., etc., add. B.
[3] *secundæ*] sacro, C. The feast of S. Agnes the second is kept on Jan. 28.

Anno Domini M^o^CCC^o^XX^o^I^o obiit Walterus de Langetone episcopus Cestriæ, cui successit Robertus de Northborghe, at instantiam domini regis Angliæ, sicut prius, nec multum post factus est Antonius de Bek prædictus episcopus Norwycensis. A.D. 1321. Death of bishop Langton.

Item,[1] die Dominica proxima post festum Sancti Dunstani episcopi, anno regni regis Edwardi xiiii^to^, in capitulo prioratus de Pontefracto ad mandatum comitis Lancastriæ omnes domini subscripti in præsentia dicti comitis convenerunt; videlicet ipse comes primo cum suis, Thomas de Multone, Thomas de Fournivalle, Edmundus Deyncourt, Henricus filius Hugonis, Radulfus de Graystoke, Gilbertus de Atone, Marmadukus de Thwynge, Nicholaus de Menille, Henricus de Percy, Johannes de Marmillone, Philippus Darcy, Willelmus filius Willelmi, Johannes de Fauconberge, Johannes Deyncourt, et dominus Robertus Conestable de Flaynbourgh, barones et banoretti; qui omnes et singuli de unanimi consensu et voluntate pro se et suis amicis et alligatis, quos ad suam concordiam possunt attrahere, concesserunt quod ex quo multæ motiones in diversis terræ partibus jam sunt motæ, per quas pax terræ poterit perturbari in regis et regni dedecus ac etiam populi dampnum non modicum et gravamen, volunt omnes et singuli, ac quilibet per se promisit fideliter et concessit, quod unius erunt assensus et concordiæ ad defendendum terras suas et patrias, ita quod, si quis insurrexerit contra dictum comitem, aut aliquem illorum, qualiscunque fuerit, quovismodo in dampnum et dedecus illorum aut alicujus eorundem, omnes erunt parati in subsidium et defensionem contra omnes malitiose volentes eos aliqualiter infestare, et

Assembly of the northern lords at Pomfret, under the earl of Lancaster, May 24.

They agree to a league for mutual defence.

[1] Those very important details, illustrating a period which has only been very partially examined by historians, are very little if at all known to other writers, and constitute one of the most valuable portions of the present chronicle.

A.D. 1321. May 24. This was confirmed by seal.

ad hoc viriliter faciendum, ut quilibet se præparet meliori et fortiori modo quo poterit, ita quod terræ pax universalis melius foveatur, necnon quiès et commodum populi multo tutius conservetur; istam itaque conventionem, quin verius confœderationem, in verbis consimilibus Gallice scriptis, per sigillorum suorum appositionem quilibet supradictus dominus confirmavit: et, quia videbatur prædictis dominis quod prædictum negotium requirebat consilium majorum et præcipue prælatorum, scripsit comes Lancastriæ archiepiscopo et omnibus aliis prælatis provinciæ et diocesis Eboracensis, ut, die Dominica proxima post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, apud Shirbourne in Elmet omnes pariter convenirent ad tractandum cum eisdem super negotiis tangentibus populi commodum et quietem; ad quem diem archiepiscopus, episcopi Dunelmensis et Carliolensis, comites Lancastriæ et Herforde, abbates et priores, necnon plurimi barones, baneretti et milites, australes et boriales, in ecclesia parochiali de Shirbourne convenerunt; in quorum præsentia Johannes de Bek, miles, ex præcepto comitis, legit quosdam articulos, ut prætendebat, correctionibus indigentes; quos hic non insero de verbo ad verbum sicut Gallice legebantur, sed illorum sententiam breviter demonstrabo quia blandis sermonibus velabantur.

The earl summons the archbishop and clergy to meet at Sherburn in Elmet, on June 28.

John de Bek reads a bill of articles of agreement.

They agree to inform the earl of all matters that require remedy.

"Primus igitur articulus post recitationem præmis- " sorum inter cetera continebat, quod, si scirent aut " cognoscerent aliquas considerationes aut injuriosa " gravamina ad dampnum vel dedecus populi vel " coronæ per malos consiliarios aut minus ydoneos " regis ministros qualitercunque suscitari, quod ipsi " vellent hujusmodi gravamina demonstrare et coram " ipso comite lucide declarare, ita quod per assensum " unanimem et commune consilium super hujusmodi " gravaminibus opportunum remedium valeat provi- " deri. Item videtur, domini reverendi, quod illi qui " officia receperunt per quæ regnum debeat gubernari,

" videlicet cancellarius, thesaurarius, camerarius, justi- " ciarius, custos sigilli secreti, escaetores et alii qui " per electionem constitui debuissent, receperuntque " officia prædicta contra ordinationes sæpefatas, sunt " causæ novitatum malorum et oppressionum quibus " populus nimium aggravatur; expedit igitur ut ce- " lere remedium apponatur. Item ad ordinandum " remedium super hujusmodi novitatibus per tales " ministros contra terræ proceres suscitatas, videlicet " quod illi qui terras et tenementa perquirunt, quæ " de rege tenentur in capite per servitia consueta, " repelluntur, eis forisfacturam suorum omnium im- " ponendo, et de aliis qui contra leges terræ per " potestatem regis exheredati et exjudicati sunt " assensu parium terræ minime requisito. Item de " justitiariis qui per commissiones regias et malorum " consiliatorum instigationem de diversis transgres- " sionibus inquirunt, magnatesque terræ faciunt in- " dictare, ut per conspirationes ipsos valeant exhere- " dare contra leges usitatas in oppressionem populi " causis variis exquisitis. Item quod præfati mali " consiliarii constituerunt justitiarios itinerantes Lon- " doniis, faciuntque regem super habitatores ejusdem " porrigere breve *Quo warranto*, ad respondendum " qualiter ipsi tenent redditus et libertates quas ipsi " et antecessores sui habuerunt, et quibus usi sunt a " conquæstu et deinceps; ac per tales oppressiones " nituntur dicti mali consiliarii populum exheredare et " affligere supra modum. Item ad tractandum de gra- " vaminibus factis mercatoribus extraneis atque notis, " qui per hujusmodi malos ministros post merci- " moniorum emptionem consuetudine soluta cogun- " tur adire limina Sancti Omeri;[1] ut ibi, contra " suum gratum et libertates per cartas regias anti- " quitus sibi concessas, vendant ad magnum populi

A.D. 1321. June 28.

Bad ministers should be removed.

A remedy should be found for the novel forfeitures.

And for oppressive commissions of justices.

And for abuses of "*quo warranto*."

And for abuses of the staple.

[1] *Omeri*] Severi, conj., C.

A.D. 1321. June 28.

And for impolitic treaties.

" dispendium et gravamen. Item ad tractandum qua- " liter comes[1] possit confœderationes et alligationes " jam inceptas cum extraneis annullare, quæ si per- " fectæ fuerint cedent in destructionem vestri et nos- " tri et totius populi Anglicani. Item ad tractandum " qualiter dominus rex horum consiliatorum instiga- " tione omnes legum terræ retinet defensores et peri- " tos, quod, si magnates vel mediocres per regem " fuerint implacitati, consilium non habebunt, cum " sui progenitores nisi duos tantum serjantos pro suis " placitis tenuerunt."

And for the king's dealing with the lawyers.

The clergy at the house of the rector draw up an answer.

Lectis articulis, supplicavit comes omnibus prælatis quod vellent ad horam[2] secedere, et ad propositum juxta sua beneplacita respondere; quibus articulorum copia tradita, mansum rectoris ecclesiæ petierunt, et tractantes responsum quod sequitur continuo comiti remiserunt: "Domine reverende, prælati et clerus " istius diocesis et provinciæ, qui vestri rogaminis in- " terventu hic uniformiter convenerunt, vobis regra- " tiantur humiliter et ex corde quod regni et istius " patriæ tantum amoris insidet cordi vestro; et, quia " formidant omnes invasionem Scotorum, ad consumen- " dum patrias, velut ante hæc tempora destruxerunt, " et si intrent, quod absit, ad malefaciendum sicut " prius, omnes juxta possibilitatem suam consentiunt " subvenire una vobiscum et aliis magnis ac communi- " tate convocata, ut hostium malitia reprimatur, statu " cleri et ecclesiæ semper salvo. Item, quoad aliquas " motiones in regno noviter suscitatas, dominationi " vestræ reverendæ aliisque quibuslibet hic vobiscum " adunatis supplicant humiliter et devote, quatenus " propter Dei et ecclesiæ sanctæ reverentiam et hono- " rem, regni salvationem, populique quietem, fiat dicta-

They agree to aid in resisting the Scots;

but desire the other matters to wait for the next parliament.

[1] *comes*] hoc, C.
[2] *horam*] homagium, B. C.; horam, conj., C.

"rum tollerantia motionum, et quod in proximo par- "liamento inter dominum nostrum regem et ligios "suos amicabilis concordia et unitas ordinetur per "tractatus pacificos in Christo quod melius videbitur "expedire; quo facto credunt omnes quod super aliis "articulis hic ostensis in dicto parliamento ordinatum "erit favente Domino remedium opportunum." Ista responsione in scriptis coram comite recitata, prælatis et clero reddidit gratias speciales, et sic licentiati singuli recesserunt.

A.D. 1321 June 28

The assembly breaks up.

Processus contra dominos patrem et filium Dispensatores eodem anno in parliamento tento Londoniis in tres septimanas post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ: contra duos Dispensatores proponebant comites domino regi articulos subsequentes[1]

The proceedings against the Despensers, July 15.

"In primis homagium, juramentum et ligiantia magis "existunt ratione coronæ quam personæ regis, et populus "plus coronæ quam personæ regiæ obligatur, et hoc patet "quia antequam status regni cuiquam descendatur nulla "ligiantia personam respicit aut requirit, unde quæritur "utrum rex reduci debeat ab errore per legis suavitatem "aut rigorem; per suavitatem nequaquam, quia judices non "habentur nisi per regem, in quo casu, si voluntas regia "fuerit dissona rationi, nihil nisi error inde proveniet con- "firmatus; unde, si rex corrigere noluerit quod coronæ fuerit "injuriosum populoque dampnosum, adjudicatum est quod "propter conservationem juramenti per asperitatem illud "demum auferatur. Rex namque per juramentum regere "populum obligatur; similiter et ipsi regni proceres cum "ipso regere et sibi in regimine subvenire, ac etiam defectus "regis tenentur dirigere per suum præstitum juramentum."[2]

The principle on which the king must be made to do justice.

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[1] *subsequentes*] Here all correspondence between MS. B. and the two transcripts ceases. The writer of B. returns to the coronation of Edward I. as a starting point of a brief abstract, "de gestis Anglorum "regum Gallicorum et Scotorum "bellis et aliis infinitis miseriis," which is continued down to the year 1360 in eight pages.

[2] The above is the Latin version of the article of the charge against the younger Hugh, given in French in the Act of Parliament which exiled the two Despensers; Statutes of the Realm, i. 182. *See* above, p. 38.

A.D. 1321. July.

Charges against the Despensers.

Deinde sequuntur xii. articuli quorum verbositas est diffusa, sed totalis intentio in adnullationem et consumptionem utriusque Dispensatoris, scilicet patris et filii, retorquet. Quorum servata sententia sermonum seriem juvante Domino breviabo;[1] "Igitur coram rege "contra patrem et filium supradictos proponunt comites et "barones, quod, cum Hugo Dispensator filius in parliamento "Eboraci nominatus et ad deserviendum domino regi in officio "camerarii exstitit assignatus, ubi etiam ordinatum fuit quod "quædam certæ personæ et alii magni deberent circa regem per "quædam anni certa tempora commorari, sine quorum scien- "tia et consilio nulla negotia deberent ardua expediri, præ- "dictus Hugo filius traxit ad se patrem suum, cum ibidem non "existit concordatum, quod circa regem deberet aliqualiter "conversari; nunc autem attrahentes sibi regni ducatum et "regiam potestatem in dedecus regis, coronæ detrimentum, "destructionem populi et magnatum, fecerunt iniquitates "quæ sequuntur, ymaginantes cor domini regis a terræ pari- "bus elongare, ut ipsi soli inter se regnum valeant guber- "nare,[2] in tantum quod non permittunt dominum regem "hilarem vultum aut animum gratum majoribus nec minori- "bus demonstrare, nec eis aliud respondere nisi pro libito "eorundem; sicque corda subditorum a suo domino, atque "cor regis a magnatibus et populo subtraxerunt.

The younger Hugh has introduced his father into the king's councils.

They prevent the king from hearing sound council.

"Item iidem non permittunt majores terræ ad regis collo- "quium propinquare ut sibi sanum consilium præbeant et "fidele, nisi in præsentia et audientia eorum aut alterius "eorundem, magnates et bonos consiliarios de domino suo "ligio repellendo, attrahentes sibi supra regis personam potes- "tatem regiam, magisterium et superioritatem, in exhereda- "tionem et periculum regis, regni, pariter et coronæ.

They have removed the authorised counsellors.

"Item[3] iidem, ad satisfaciendum suæ cupidini exheredando "et destruendo populum et magnates, consiliarios et ministros "bonos ex assensu communi deputatos amoverunt, et alios malos "et falsos suæ opinionis induxerunt, videlicet magistrum Ro-

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[1] The following Latin corresponds with the French as printed in the Rolls of Parliament, iii. 363; Statutes of the Realm, i. 181.

[2] *gubernare*] Here follows, in the French, the article given above; after which the indictment proceeds as in the text, without close agreement.

[3] *Item*] This article is not part of the Act as passed in parliament.

"bertum de Baldok secreti sigilli regis custodem, dominum "Willelmum de Cusance, alienigenam, privatum clericum "Hugonis filii, magnæ garderobæ custodem, et dominum "Willelmum de Clyff similiter ejusdem Hugonis clericum, "de consilio regis fecerunt jurari, quod de cancellaria non "permitteret exire ullum breve tangens vel respiciens patrem "et filium supradictos, alios quoscunque quorum vellent "negotia promovere aut etiam impedire, in illa platea præ-"cipue ubi nulla debet justitia denegari. A.D. 1321. July. Names of evil counsellors.

"Item[1] iidem constituere fecerunt vicecomites, escaetores, "constabularios castrorum et alios minus ydoneos in obsequiis "regiis ministrandos, ac etiam justitiarios assignatos in legi-"bus terræ non sufficienter eruditos, videlicet Hugonem Dis-"pensatorem patrem, Radulfum Basseth, Radulfum Camoise, "Johannem Inge et alios alligatos sibi specialiter et juratos, "ad audiendum et terminandum causas et negotia tangentia "populum et magnates; per tales namque ministros suosque "falsos procuratores et fautores ac falsidicos juratores fecerunt "terræ proceres judicare, puta, comitem Herfordiæ, Johannem "Giffarde de Brounfeld, Robertum Mohaut et alios nobiles "viros propter bonorum suorum cupidinem et terrarum. They have appointed corrupt judges.

"Item[2] iidem falsissime et maliciose dominum regem cum "equis et armis fecerunt versus partes Gloucestriæ tendere "et illic super bonos et fideles cum armatis equitibus, contra "formam magnæ cartæ et voluntatem seu considerationem "magnatorum, in gentis illius confusionem equitare. They have involved the king in attacks on subjects.

"Item ubi comes Herfordiæ et dominus Rogerus de Mor-"tuomari de Wygemore ad debellandum[3] Thlewlyn Bren, qui "contra regem in Clammorgan insurrexit bellicose, ex præ-"cepto fuerant assignati, dum modo terræ fuerunt in manu "regis per mortem comitis Gloucestriæ, dictusque Thlewelyn "prædictis dominis se reddidit ac gratiæ et regiæ voluntati; et "illi gratiam sibi promittentes ipsum tali conditione domino "regi tradiderunt, qui sub eadem forma eundem etiam tunc re-"cepit. Iidem pater et filius, potestatem sibi regiam attrahentes, "præfatum Thlewelyn ceperunt et usque Caerdiff perduxerunt, "postquam dictus Hugo de sua seisitus fuerat purpartia, usur- The case of Llewelyn Bren.

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[1] *Item*] See Statutes of the i. 182.

[2] *Item*] Statutes of the Realm, i. 183.

[3] *debellandum*] bellandum, C.

A.D. 1321. July.

Judicial murder of Llewelyn Bren.

"pantes sibi jurisdictionem, ubi in tali casu per viam rationis "nullam poterant optinere, ibidemque ipsum trahi, suspendi, "decollari et in quatuor partes dividi statuerunt, in exhereda- "tionem regis et coronæ necuon et in dominorum vituperium "prædictorum.

The treatment of Audley and Damory.

"Item iidem male consuluerunt domino regi capere in "manum suam terras et castella domini Hugonis Daudely filii, "quem absque processu debito de terris suis exjudicaverunt, "ut eas sibi postmodum potuissent acquisisse, ac etiam per "suas falsas ymaginationes machinati sunt perquisisse terras "domini Rogeri Damary, ut sic ad comitatum Gloucestriæ, in "exheredationem parium terræ, integre valuissent attigisse.

The case of the Warwick wardship.

"Item ubi dominus rex per suas patentes in parliamento "Londoniis concessit comiti de Warrewyk quod executores sui "haberent terras usque ad plenum ætatem heredis sui, si "ipsum morte contigerit præveniri, quam quidem conces- "sionem post mortem comitis ad rogatum procerum terræ "dominus rex in parliamento Lincolniæ confirmavit, prædic- "tus Hugo pater, stimulante [1] filio et procurante, induxit "dominum regem illud factum sine causa, mortuo comite, "revocare, et eidem Hugoni ad proprium proficuum terrarum "tradere custodiam earundem, regis concessionem in parlia- "mento factam annullando contra leges usitatas et omnimodam "rationem.

Their fraudulent dealing with successions to fiefs.

"Item iidem non permittunt dominum regem nostrum "capere fines rationabiles de paribus terræ et aliis feodum "intrantibus hiis diebus, sicut solebat fieri temporibus jam "transactis, sed propter cupidinem perquirendi hujusmodi "terras, per sibi regalem potestatem usurpatam inducere fe- "cerunt in talibus negotiis impedimenta non debita, im- "ponentes tales terras esse forisfactas, sicut de domino "Johanne de Moubray pro terris de Gower, et aliorum mag- "natum, in dedecus regis et contra leges terræ antiquitus "usitatas.

Their concealment of justice from the king.

"Item [2] iidem non permittunt dominum regem audire de- "monstrationes sibi factas nec justitiam facere super hujus- "modi demonstrationibus ipsum regem et alios magnates "tangentibus, videlicet de terris quondam Templariorum, "sicque duxerunt regem in negotiis se ipsos et suos alligatos "concernentibus, quod justitia nisi per ipsorum potest fieri

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[1] *stimulante*] simulante, C. | [2] *Item*] Statutes of the Realm, i. 184.

"voluntatem, in exheredationem et destructionem populi et "magnatum. A.D. 1321. July.

"Item episcoporum, abbatum et priorum, in forma debita "electi, qui de jure domino regi præsentari et ab ipso recipi "debuissent, non permittuntur ad regis præsentiam pervenire "quousque cum Hugone filio finem fecerint sive pactum. Extortions from prelates.

"Item ad hoc, ubi Johannes de Lethele et alii fuerunt car- "cerali custodiæ mancipati, pro quadam transgressione facta "dominæ de Merk, ad dampnum ejusdem mille et c. mar- "carum, unde fuerunt convicti coram Roberto de Maddyngle "et sociis suis justitiariis assignatis ad audiendum et ter- "minamdum transgressionem prænotatam, prædictus Hugo "filius eduxit præfatum Johannem de carcere Colecestriæ, "ubi adjudicatus fuit immorari quousque præfatæ dominæ "satisfecerit de dampnis supradictis, quem per finem levatum "coegit sibi vendere terram suam, nulla satisfactione præmissa "primitus parti læsæ, contra leges regni multis temporibus "usitatas. Case of John of Lethele and the lady of Merk.

"Hæc quidem prava consilia et malefacta prænotata per "examinationem prælatorum, comitum et baronum ac alio- "rum regni parium plurimorum, verificata sunt et notorie "demonstrata; et ideo prælati, comites et barones ac com- "munitas terræ, supplicant domino regi, quod præfati pater "et filius Dispensatores tanquam falsi et pessimi consiliarii "regis, exheredatores coronæ, et populi destructores, exu- "lent de regno Angliæ, nunquam postea reversuri, et quod "super hiis fiat unum statutum in præsenti parliamento ad "perpetuam rei memoriam et exemplum consiliatorum per- "versorum, ne quis delinquere taliter audeat in futurum. These charges were examined and proved; and the peers pray for a statute.

"Quapropter nos pares terræ, comites et barones, in præ- "sentia domini nostri regis consideramus quod sæpedicti "domini Hugo pater et Hugo filius Dispensatores tanquam "exheredatores coronæ sint perpetuo exheredati, et quod exu- "lent a regno Angliæ nunquam reversuri, nisi ex assensu "domini nostri regis et magnatum, et hoc in parliamento "debite summonito, eisque damus portum Doveriæ et non "alibi ad transfretandum et exeundum a regno Angliæ, citra "festum Decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ proximo fu- "turum illo die computato. Et si prædicti Hugo et Hugo "Dispensatores infra regnum Angliæ moram trahant post "diem eis datam ad exeundum, vel unquam redeant, nisi ut "præmittitur, ad eandem, tunc fiet de eis sicut de regis et "regni notoriis inimicis." Their verdict for perpetual exile and forfeiture. The day fixed, August 29.

A.D. 1321. Reflexions on the mode of proceeding against the Despensers.

Mira res! ecce qualiter membra a capite se disjungunt quando fit consideratio per magnates in parliamento, regis assensu minime requisito; membra namque judicantia volunt perdere judicatos, et caput sicut judex in judicium non vocatus dampnatos vult protegere de plenitudine regiæ potestatis. Væ! quin ibidem fuisset aliquis misericors mediator, qui scivisset vel potuisset judicasse inter perdere et salvare, nec non ad memoriam reduxisse illud dictum Mediatoris Dei et hominum, "Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut "magis convertatur et vivat;" sed hostis antiquus iratos animos per invidiam et avaritiam tantum excæcavit et taliter inflammavit, quod ad mensuram et misericordiam respicere non valebant.

Reclamatio patris et filii prædictorum.

Protest of the Despensers against the award of the parliament.

"Errores. Sæpefati domini duo Dispensatores in processu "præcedente assignaverunt errores continue subsequentes: "Primo quod ad respondendum parte non vocata ad judicium "processerunt, ex quo eis de jure non competit contra quempiam recordare. Secundo quod convicti non sunt fore culpabiles super sibi objectis articulis criminosis. Tertio quod "de cunctis sibi oppositis nihil tangit feloniam aut proditionem, sine quibus aut illorum altero nemo debet proscribi, "nec etiam exulare. Quarto quod contra recordum domini "nostri regis ad judicium processerunt, nam dominus noster "rex recordatus est contra articulos prælibatos, quos sibi "magis quam alicui alteri cognoscere competebat. Quinto "quia facta fuit eorum consideratio absque clero, et nullum "judicium in diversitate legum cadens absque assensu communi debeat terminari. Sexto quod armati in parliamenti "tempore pacis, in domini nostri regis præsentiam intraverunt. "Ingressionis namque modus assidentium corda concussit, "illisque juste judicandi abstulit voluntatem. Septimo quod "omnes illi, per quos judicium exstitit ordinatum, fuerunt "sibi capitales inimici, juxta illud 'inimici nostri sunt judi-'ces', et hoc patet lucide per articulos præfatos. Octavo "quod major pars eorundem per asperitatem sunt coacti illo-

"rum fieri voluntatis. Nono quia dominus noster rex illorum "judicio non consensit, eo quod contra tenorem magnæ cartæ "totaliter processerunt, quæ per statutum de Marleberge et "per ordinationes affirmatur, et vult quod nullus exulet aut "proscribatur nisi per judicium parium suorum aut per regni "leges antiquitus usitatas; et excommunicati sunt quater in "anno qui contra prædictam cartam præsumpserint aliquid "attemptare; super quibus præfati domini pater et filius "Dispensatores supplicant domino regi, quod, desicut per "jus coronæ suæ et sacramentum præstitum tenetur omnes "per justitiam regere et fovere, necnon omnes corrigere in-"jurias et errores, recordum et processum considerationis "præfatæ coram se ipso faciat evocari diligenter et fideliter "examinari; et si in prædictis recordo et processu errores "reperiri fuerint aliquales, placeat sibi ulterius facere gra-"tiose quod jus et ratio exigunt et requirunt. Et sæpedicti "pater et filius erunt parati querelis omnium respondere. "Præterea animadvertere velit regia celsitudo, quod comes "Herfordiæ et alii, qui fuerunt auctores prædictorum articu-"lorum et processuum principales, non deberent in causa pro-"pria locum partis et judicis optinere, nisi hoc vellet juri "canonico et civili ac etiam regni legibus obviare."

A.D. 1321. Nine articles of error in the judgment.

They apply for a fresh examination of the case, and offer to answer all complaints.

Per religiosos et procuratores religiosorum.

"Patres et domini reverendi, videtur religiosis et procurato-"ribus religiosorum virorum, ad instans vestrum consilium[1] "convocatorum, quod exhibita, supposita veritate eorundem, "continent in se errores; et si revocatio eorundem, juxta a "Deo vobis datam discretionem et facti experientiam quam geri-"tis, operari possit pacem finalem vel viam paci vicinam, sup-"plicant devote quatenus placeat vobis effectualiter instare erga "dominum nostrum et proceres regni sui, ut fiat revocatio "illorum per illos per quos fieri debet, locis et temporibus "ad hoc opportunis, et erunt per Dei gratiam ad omnia quæ "ad pacem pertinent peragenda prompti, et vobis obedientes;

December. Declaration of the religious against the award, addressed to the bishops.

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[1] This is the provincial council summoned for December 1, 1321; Adam of Murimuth, who represented the bishop of Hereford on the occasion, places the declaration on the 10th. See A. Murim. Chr., p. 35; Wilkins, Concilia, ii. 507–510; Fœdera, ii. 470.

A.D. 1321. December.

"de quibus protestantur expresse, salvis semper statu ecclesiæ "et animarum salute."

The pardon of the pursuers of the Despensers, granted in the July parliament.

Item in eodem parliamento publicata per comites quæ sequuntur:[1]—"Cum nuper plures regni proceres imputassent dominis Hugoni patri et Hugoni filio Dispensatoribus multas perversitates per ipsos factas contra statum "regis et coronæ, exheredationem magnatum, et populi de- "structionem, et ad persequendum dicta malefacta et per "vim convincendum, quod per processum legis non potuit "comprehendi, prædicti comites inter se scripto juramento et "alio modo fuissent colligati, domini nostri regis licentia "non petita, ac deinde ad persequendum prædictos patrem "et filium et alligatos suos et sibi adhærentes, præfati mag- "nates et alii ejusdem opinionis cum vexillis regis et suis "propriis explicatis equitassent, cepissent et occupassent castra, "villas, maneria, tenementa, bona et catalla similiter cepissent, "et incarcerassent homines de ligiantia regis et aliorum, de "quibus quosdam interfecissent et alios per redemptiones dimi- "sissent, et alia plura fecissent in destructionem prædictorum "Hugonis et Hugonis et amicorum suorum in Anglia, Wallia, "et Marchia, quorum quædam possunt dici transgressiones, et "quædam feloniæ, ac propter hoc prædicti magnates domino "nostro regi supplicassent, quod de cunctis colligationibus, "transgressionibus et feloniis, pro bono pacis, quiete populi, et "rancoris mitigatione, necnon et procerum cordium attractione, "absoluti essent in ipsum et quieti, concordatum est in eodem "parliamento, quod nulli eorum, cujuscunque status fuerint, "propter transgressiones juramento scripto vel alio modo fac- "tas, equitationes cum vexillis regis et aliis explicatis, aut "propter captiones, occupationes, detentiones castrorum, villa- "rum, maneriorum, et aliarum rerum, vel etiam propter incar- "cerationes, redemptiones, homicidia, deprædationes, felonias "vel aliquas alias actiones quæ vocari possunt transgressiones, "contra pacem domini nostri regis in persecutione prædicta "factas, a primo die Martii proxime præterito usque ad diem "Mercurii proxime post festum Assumptionis proxime se- "quentis, sint appellati, calumpniati, capti, incarcerati, aut "aliqualiter aggravati, nec in curia regis coram ipso aut

[1] This is the Latin translation of the French text of the pardon of the prosecutors of the Despensers, which is incorporated in the act by which it was repealed at the parliament of York in 1322; Statutes of the Realm, i. 185, 186.

"alibi ad judicium vocati; sed quod ab omni vexatione, trans- A.D. 1321. July.
"gressione et calumpnia sint quieti; exceptis quod prædicti
"Hugo et Hugo ab omni actione et ratione recuperandi bona
"sua vel catalla prænotata, aut dampnorum restitutionem,
"in perpetuum sint exclusi; et quod omnes qui fuerunt in
"eadem prosecutione facienda, tam majores quam minores,
"præfatis dominis adhærentes, habeant cartas generales sub
"sigillo magno regis in forma superius declarata."

Inconsistency of the ruling politicians.

Ecce! nunc qualiter legum conditores facti sunt legum corruptores. Comes namque Lancastriæ in parliamento Eboraci induxit dominum regem ad pardonandum sectam pacis suæ versus ipsum et alios malefactores suos ad numerum circiter mille personarum, et tamen idem comes prius juraverat super quibusdam ordinationibus tenendis ne dominus rex in casibus emergentibus de morte ulli remitteret sectam pacis. Væ! quod talis error tantos nobiles excæcavit; alios, ut dicunt, pro suis excessibus cruciant et condempnant, se ipsos et suos complices delictis maximis irretitos, dum putant absolvere, inficiunt et involvunt, prout post paulo superius, per suas recognitiones in parliamento factas, quando de domino nostro rege de suis supra modum demeritis pardonationis et acquietationis beneficium petierunt.

The king takes Leeds castle.

Item, eodem anno, dominus Bartholomæus de Badelesmere per suos castellum de Ledys in Cantia contra dominum nostrum regem tenuit vi et armis; sed ante Natale Domini rex illam cepit, xiii. armigeros decollari jussit, militibus et dominabus ibidem repertis carcerali custodiæ mancipatis. Item dominus Johannes de Hothome,[1] episcopus Eliensis, attachiatus, Londonias vocatur et super quibusdam sibi objectis arguitur et multatur. Item infra Natale Domini Scoti iterato usque ad aquam de Tese ferro et flamma circumquaque patrias consumpserunt. Item circa Carnisprivium, revocatis dominis patre et filio Dispensatoribus per

The bishop of Ely fined.

Scottish invasion.

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[1] John of Hotham, bishop of Ely; chancellor from June 1318 to January 1320.

A.D. 1322. The king marches to the north, and takes the Mortimers.

dominum regem et in statum pristinum restitutis, versus boriam iter arripuit cum eisdem et copiosa multitudine armatorum. Prius tamen apud Salopiam cepit duos dominos de Mortuomari avunculum et nepotem, et dominum Hugonem Daudeléye seniorem, cum multis aliis quos certæ custodiæ commendavit, eo quod urbes et villas quasdam in marchia ceperunt, milites et alios regis ligios et ministros proflixerunt, et alia facinora fecerunt, quousque rex ex insperato supervenit et illorum cuneos disgregavit.

John Giffard, after ravaging Gloucester and Bridgenorth, flies to the earl of Lancaster at Pomfret.

Postea dominus Johannes Gyffarde cum non modica multitudine armatorum ingressus est villam et castrum domini regis Gloucestriæ, et contra ipsius pacem et voluntatem occupaverunt, ibidemque et apud villam regis de Briggenorth prædationes, incendia, homicidia, et alia facinora perpetrarunt; sed de adventu regis præmuniti, timore perterriti, prædictas terras, villas et castrum relinquentes, versus comitem Lancastriæ apud Pontemfractum perhendinantem, tanquam ad principale refugium accesserunt; et exinde ducentes secum machinas, usque ad castrum regis de Tykhille processerunt, et illud per tres septimanas obsederunt insultantes, continue debellando, ibique quosdam regis homines peremerunt; nec sufficiebant illis malefacta prælibata, quin Thomas comes Lancastriæ, comes Herfordiæ, domini de Moubray et Cliffordc, et multi alii barones et baneretti, cum multitudine magna peditum et aliorum hominum armatorum, ad tantam sunt dementiam devoluti, quod apud Birtone super Trentam, cum vexillis explicatis domino suo regi obviantes, sibi et suis per tres dies continuos vi et armis aquæ transitum negaverunt; ubi in secunda hebdomada Quadragesimæ, die Mercurii proximo ante festum Sancti Gregorii papæ, vi^{to} idus Martii, anno regni regis Edwardi xv^{o}, Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo ccc^{o}xxi^{o}, c littera Dominicali, in multitudine gravi villam de Birton et pontem occupantes, quosdam homines occide-

They besiege Tickhill.

They march to Burton-on-Trent, which they occupy, March 10.

runt. Igitur perpendens dominus rex comites suos in aciebus dispositis ad pugnam hostiliter præparari, confligere statuit cum eisdem, et, ductus ad quoddam vadum, aquam transiit versus illos, ac suis ad conflictum dispositis vexillum voluit explicuisse, statimque dominus Hugo Dispensator filius de dextrario desiluit, et superius extendens brachia super nivem, quæ tunc terræ superficiem cooperuit, coram rege se prostravit, dicens, "Parce, domine, parce populo tuo, et "propter Dei misericordiam, non potentia sed regis "clementia dirigat actus vestros; domine mi rex, "quos niteris debellare regni nobiles et ligii tui sunt, "non sano ducti consilio sed fervore juvenili stimu-"lante, manus ad fortia et indebita extenderunt, et "si vexillum tuum, domine mi rex, fuerit explicatum, "universalis guerra totam terram undique perturba-"bit, quam tuis temporibus vix poteris temporare.[1] "Prosequatur tamen regia celsitudo quod incepit, ut, "si forte videant fortunam sibi contrariam, pœniteant "et de inceptis juvante Domino resipiscant." Sed comites, regis aditum intuentes, terrore perterriti et, imposita flamma quibusdam domibus villæ de Birtone, in fumo fugientes versus Pontemfractum iter arripiunt festinanter. Cognita dispersione comitum atque fuga, rex castrum comitis de Tuttebiry cepit, ubi inventus fuit dominus Rogerus Damary et alii vulnerati. Exinde prosecutus est dominus rex comites fugientes, et illi, regis adventum audientes, de Pontefracto usque Pontemburgi, patrias spoliantes et alia facinora facientes, octavo die postquam confutati de Birtone recesserunt, propere pervenerunt; ubi quidam miles Borialium, Andreas de Harcla, bellicosus et strenuus, virtute commissionis regiæ sibi factæ ad resistendum et refrænandum regi rebellantes, ducens secum armatos et

A.D. 1322. March 10. The king crosses the Trent, but is persuaded by the younger Despenser not to unfurl his standard.

The lords fly to Pomfret.

Capture of Tutbury.

The lords at Boroughbridge.

[1] *temporare*] temperabitur, C.

A.D. 1322. March 16. Northward flight of the lords.

pedites in illis partibus adunatos, fugientibus obviavit, et pontis transitum impedivit. Quo autem prædicti comites divertisse voluerunt, a pluribus ignoratur; opinio tamen communis vulgi fuit quod disponebant usque Scotiam properasse. Et dedignantes comites bo-

Death of the earl of Hereford.

rialium paucitatem, super pontem comes Herfordiæ et alii cum eisdem congressi sunt; qui etiam ibidem occubuit; duo milites et comitis vexillarius confligentes vitam pariter finierunt. Rogerus de Clifforde et plures alii vulnerati a certamine declinabant.

Reflexions on the crisis.

Ecce qualiter peccata nostra nobis multiplicant dies malos, juxta quod scribitur in Apocalipsi: "Et exiit Rev. vi. 4.
"equus rufus et qui sedebat super eum, datum est ei "ut sumeret pacem de terra et ut invicem se in-"terficiant." Sic in præsenti, quia Anglici mutuo jam confligunt, et quia dies mali modo sunt, futuros

Prophecy of S. Gregory to Maximus of Salona.

adhuc deteriores formidamus, sicut beatus Gregorius præsago spiritu Maximiano Salonitano episcopo scribit, dicens; "Affligor in hiis quæ jam in vobis patior, et "vehementer conturbor ubique; jam video quia nobis "peccata nostra respondeant, ut foris agentibus et "intus a perversis judicibus conturbemur. Sed nolite "de talibus contristari; quia qui post nos vixerint "deteriora tempora videbunt, ita ut in comparatione "sui temporis felices dies nos æstiment habuisse."[1]

Capture of the earl of Lancaster.

Interitu cognito comitis Herfordiæ, Thomas comes Lancastriæ usque in crastinum pacem petiit, atque treugam; quem nocte sequente tota fere retinentia sua respuit et reliquit. Et in crastino mane dominus Simon Warde vicecomes Eboraci, cum cccc^tis armatis, venit illuc properanter, et continuo comes Lancastriæ, Johannes Moubray, Rogerus de Clifforde, et multi alii capti et usque Eboracum sunt perducti; et exinde usque Pontemfractum ad regis imperium sunt adducti

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[1] *habuisse*] S. Gregorii Magni, *Epistolæ*, lib. x., cp. 36, Opp. ii. 1066.

Dominica in medio Quadragesimæ, quæ fuit dies Sancti Benedicti; et in crastino suis aspectibus præsentati. A.D. 1322. March 21.

Igitur die Lunæ proxima ante festum Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, apud Pontemfractum, in castro, domino regi pro tribunali sedente, comitibus Cantiæ, Richmundiæ, Pennebrok, Warenniæ et Surriæ, Arundelliæ, Ascetle et Anegos, ac etiam baronibus, banerettis et aliis regni magnatibus assedentibus, Thoma comite Lancastriæ in judicium vocato, astante, recordatum [1] est quod idem Thomas contra fidelitatem, homagium et ligiantiam suam, venit hostiliter cum vexillis explicatis apud Birtone super Trentam, simul cum Humfrido de Boun comite Herfordiæ, cum toto processu, sicut superius est expressum. Quæ proditiones, homicidia, combustiones, deprædationes, felonias, et debellationes hostiles, cum equis et armis, vexillis explicatis, notoria sunt comitibus, baronibus, et aliis magnatibus, cum omni populo manifesta. Et ideo consideratum fuit, quod idem Thomas comes pro proditionibus trahatur, pro homicidiis, prædationibus et feloniis, suspendatur, pro prædicta fuga decapitetur. Sed tandem dominus rex ob reverentiam parentelæ excellentis et nobilis de qua idem Thomas existit procreatus, scilicet filius avunculi sui Edmundi, remisit prædicto comiti de regia gratia speciali executionem duarum pœnarum sibi adjudicatarum, videlicet quod non trahatur neque suspendatur; sed quod executio tantummodo fiat super ipsum Thomam quod decapitetur. Et hoc facto, inter monachos ejusdem villæ traditur sepulturæ. March 22. Record of the trial and condemnation of the earl of Lancaster. He is beheaded and buried at Pomfret.

Proth dolor! quod tantus vir de talibus debeat diffamari, aut hujusmodi operibus consentire. Et statim domini Warinus de Insula, Willelmus Thouchett, Thomas Mauduct, Henricus de Bradeburne, Willelmus filius Willelmi, et Willelmus Cheny, per eosdem recordum et Other executions.

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[1] An abstract of the formal record printed in the Fœdera, ii. 478.

A.D. 1322. March.

Further executions at York and Gloucester.

processum ibidem trahuntur et suspenduntur.[1] Item in crastino, apud Eboracum, domini Johannes de Moubray, Rogerus de Clifforde, et Gocelinus Deyvylle, per recordum et processum prædictos trahuntur et cum cathenis ferreis suspenduntur. Item apud Gloucestriam dominus Johannes Giffarde, quia contra fidelitatem, homagium et ligiantiam suam, per proditionem cepit villam et castrum domini regis Gloucestriæ, nec non villam de Briggenorth succendit et pontem fregit, ibique fecit prædationes, homicidium, et felonias, et exinde patrias spoliando vi et armis usque castrum domini regis de Tykhille hostiliter processit, quod cum aliis pluribus obsedit, et postea apud Birtone et Pontemburgi domino regi restitit, et cum suis ligiis, vexillis explicatis, dimicavit, per regis recordum, ut prædicitur, una cum domino Rogero Elmorigge trahitur et suspenditur, exigentibus demeritis supradictis. Qui vero voluerit totum recordum et processum, contra prædictos dominos factum et pronuntiatum, legere vel audire, in alio libro inter incidentia chronicorum totaliter poterit invenire, sicut in judicio superius est ostensum; in quo nomina dominorum et aliorum militum, qui propter præfatam rebellionem capiebantur, reperiet, et loca in quibus mortis supplicium sunt perpessi. Ibidemque continetur credentia cujusdam Johannis de Denome[2] infra prædictum processum scripta, ex parte prædictorum comitum Roberto de Bruys et Scotis exponenda, super confœderatione et alligatione facienda cum eisdem. Istud ultimum non affirmo, sed an sit verum nec ne nescio. Deus novit.

Incriminating evidence.

Anno Domini millesimo CCC°XX°II°, in quindena Paschæ rex Edwardus apud Eboracum tenuit parlia-

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[1] *suspenduntur*] See Ann. de Melsa, ii. 342, 343; and the record in the Fœdera, ii. 478, 479.

[2] *Johannis de Denome*] Johan de Denum, Fœd. ii. 479; Johan de Denom, Trokelowe, p. 118: he was a person employed by the king himself in negotiation with the Scots; see Fœd. ii. 631.

mentum, in quo de militibus qui fuerunt de querela comitis erat taliter ordinatum; videlicet, quibusdam dominus rex de sua gratia quod deliquerant condonavit; alii per redemptiones dimittuntur, et plerique perpetuis carceribus committuntur, juxta transgressionis quantitatem; quidam ad tempus et quidam suo perpetuo moraturi: et nonnulli sunt per diversa mortis genera condempnati, quorum nomina, et loca in quibus mortui sunt, in prædicto processu contra præfatum comitem factum, et in eodem parliamento recitatum, possunt plenius apparere. Similiter dominus rex ibidem dominos Hugonem patrem Wintoniæ, et Andream de Harcla Karleolensem, fecit comites et nominavit. Item tractabatur ibidem de regis profectione versus Scotiam; et circa festum Sancti Jacobi proxime sequens, cum exercitu magno Scotiam est ingressus; Berewycum obsedit, sed nihil proficiens, non multum post in Angliam est reversus. Nec multum post festum Sancti Michaelis, Robertus de Bruys cum exercitu non modico infra regnum Angliæ Anglicos est prosecutus, ita festinanter et caute quod fere in monasterio de Bella-landa dominum regem, non circumspectum sed improvisum, cepisset, si non ipsum gratiose Christi pietas respexisset; super excelsum namque montem super monasterio de Bella-landa, ubi fuit dispositus exercitus Anglicanus, Scoti inter arbusta per medium nemoris ascenderunt, et in primo congressu Anglici coram hostibus sunt dispersi; et captis ibidem comite Richmundiæ et nonnullis aliis, pluribus etiam interfectis, rex de Bella-landa velociter discessit, et die Veneris proxima ante festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ cum germano suo comite Cantiæ, Hugone Dispensatore filio, Johanne de Cromewelle, et Johanne de Ros, sibi secretariis et familiaribus, usque Bridelyngton mane venit; ibidemque pernoctavit; et in crastino versus Brustewyk iter arripuit festinanter; quem dominus Robertus de Scarde-

A.D. 1322. April. Parliament at York.

Punishment of the rebels.

Promotion of Hugh le Despenser and Harcla.

Expedition to Scotland.

Scottish invasion.

Narrow escape of the king at Byland.

His flight to Bridlington, Oct. 15;

and thence to Burstwick.

A.D. 1322. October.

The treasures of Bridlington removed to Goxhill in Lincolnshire.

burgh,[1] prior de Bridlyngton, in itinerando conduxit. Tantusque timor omnem populum terræ invasit, ut quilibet quo tutius fugeret ordinavit; munimentis igitur monasterii nostri de Bridelyngton, calicibus, vestimentis, capis sericis, vera cruce, reliquiis et aliis rebus pretiosis, in carectis et bigis dispositis, uno tandem calice in monasterio dimisso, dominus prior prædictus cum conventu, octo tantummodo canonicis domi residentibus, usque ecclesiam nostram de Gousle in diocesi Lincolniæ trans Humbriam est profectus. Ibique per quindenam integram morabantur. Interim Robertus de Bruys rex Scotiæ apud Malton morabatur,[2] Scotis patrias spoliantibus et incendentibus, animalia grossa de Kyllome, Ruddestane et adjacentis patriæ secum abducentibus, captivosque plurimos ceperunt. Nos itaque, tanto metu percussi, ex assensu fratrum domi commorantium, misimus dominum Robertum de Bayntone concanonicum nostrum usque Maltone ad tractandum cum Scotis, quia parentes habuit inter eos, ut monasterio et maneriis nostris quoad combustionem parcerent in eventu; et, hoc facto, ix. Scotos cum xviii. equis ad monasterium secum duxit, qui victualia, scilicet panem, vinum et cerevisiam,[3] quam capere volebant in suis vasiis propriis secum suis ducibus detulerunt; et sic undique Scoti ferro et flamma patriam consumentes, cum præda non modica die Veneris proximo post festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ versus partes proprias sunt reversi. Nec fuit tunc temporis qui tantis hostium incursionibus resistere poterat, vel audebat; exigentibus culpis nostris; abstulit namque Dominus illis diebus Anglorum corda, Qui novit ad tempus filios flagellare,

Robert Bruce at Malton.

The canons of Bridlington treat with the Scots.

The Scots retire, October 22.

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[1] Robert of Scarborough, the fourteenth prior of Bridlington, in Burton's list, ruled from 1321 to 1342: Mon. Ebor. p. 249; Mon. Angl. vi. 284.

[2] *morabatur*] Cf. Ann. de Melsa, ii. 346.

[3] *cerevisiam*] certam, C. om. H; perhaps *carnem*.

cum genti vilissimæ tradidit Anglicos cruciandos, juxta quod, dicit Huntingdoniensis,[1] prædixit Anglicis quidam vir Dei, quod gens Scotorum quos vilissimos habebant eis ad extremam confusionem dominaretur. Qualis utique major confusio potuit Anglicis evenisse, quam regem suum in suo regno per Scotos de loco ad locum perpendere fugatum, populum huc et illuc dispersum, tanquam gregem sine pastore coram hostibus corruentem? Et quia timebamus nobis de periculo sententiæ, eo quod communicavimus cum Scotis, eis victualia ministrando, in proxima visitatione domini nostri diocesani, in capitulo nostro de Bridelyngton absolutionis beneficium petivimus et habuimus ab eodem; et ex habundanti quandam litteram in hæc verba:

A.D. 1322. Fulfilment of a prophecy.

Danger of the canons of Bridlington who had negotiated with the Scots.

"Willelmus, permissione divina Eboracensis archiepiscopus, "Angliæ primas, dilecto filio Roberto de Scardeburghe, priori "monasterii de Bridelyngtone nostræ diocesis, salutem, gra- "tiam et benedictionem. Ad impendendum in forma juris "beneficium absolutionis quibuscunque canonicis domus ves- "træ, qui in sententias excommunicationis majoris vel minoris, "eo quod cum Scotis excommunicatis communicaverunt, in- "currisse se formidant, edendo et bibendo cum eisdem, seu alio "genere communionis, non tamen in eorum auxilium vel favo- "rem, quatenus potestas nostra ad hoc se extendit, vobis vices "nostras committimus cum cohertionis canonicæ potestate. "Valete. Datum apud Thorpe prope Eboracum, xv° Decembris, "anno gratiæ millesimo ccc°xx°ii°, et pontificatus nostri sexto."

The archbishop authorises the prior to deal with them, Dec. 15.

Enumeratis igitur quibusdam cladibus publicis et invasionibus manifestis, plures omittimus quas solummodo scientia capit. Quia totiens hostes versuti fines Angliæ boriales invaserunt, prout accepimus, fama veridica referente, quod plures illarum partium coloni, qui in prædiis et possessionibus ovium et armentorum uberius habundabant, jam compelluntur per patrias mendicare. Communis itaque præsumptio fuit et vulgariter dicebatur, quod hostes partes vicinas Eboraci non fuissent ausi hostiliter invasisse nisi cum quibusdam Anglicis conspirassent; et super hoc Andreas

Great distress in the north.

Suspicions of complicity with the Scots.

[1] Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. § 1; ed. Arnold, p. 174.

A.D. 1323. Suspicious conduct of Harcla.

de Harcla comes Karleolensis vituperium non vitavit. Nam dum modo Scoti cum Anglicis in vertice collis juxta Bellam-landam, ut prædicitur, conflixerunt, idem Andreas cum viginti milibus equitum et peditum apud Pontemburgi eventum rei, patrias spolians, exspectavit, parvipendens regis infortunium, cum non multum defuit quin insanabilem miseriam et sempiternum dedecus incurrisset. Item idem Andreas composuit et tractavit cum Roberto de Bruys rege Scotiæ super quibusdam articulis juri regis Angliæ contrariis, prout post in indenturis super hoc inter ipsos factis, quorum copia in alio libro scribitur inter Incidentia Chronicorum;[1] et quia sermonum replicatio fit sæpius in eisdem effectum articulorum breviter intimabo; unde primus articulus sic habebat: "Quoniam habitatores utriusque regionis, Angliæ scilicet et Scotiæ, mutuo conversantes opulenter et strenue tunc degebant, dummodo per regem suæ nationis ac leges et consuetudines patrias utrumque regnum ab altero per se separatum regebatur, eadem igitur consuetudo amodo conservetur; et quod omnes hujuscemodi concordiæ sectatores diligentiam adhibeant, cum omni consilio et auxilio, vigilantem, ut rex Scotiæ regnum suum integre, libere, et pacifice, sibi et heredibus suis teneat in futurum. Nolentes autem concordiæ huic consentire, tanquam pacis et quietis populi perturbatores, et utriusque regni hostes notorios, disperdantur. Volentibus ergo se ipsos obligare et conventioni hujusmodi consentire, fatetur præfatus rex Scotiæ se velle affirmare et assecurare quod erit eis in auxilium, consilium, et defensionem, in omnibus et singulis quæ possent provenire utriusque regni habitatoribus, ad commune regni proficuum et honorem, juxta assertionem et arbitrium xii. personarum quarum vi. per regem Scotiæ et vi. per dictum comitem eligentur, ad ordinandum et terminandum omnia quæ prædictorum regnorum tangunt commodum et quietem. Item de omnibus illis qui hujusmodi concordiæ esse voluerint assertores habebit præfatus rex Scotiæ securitatem qualem prædicti ordinabunt. Qui vero ad illam securitatem facien-

Alleged negotiation of Harcla with the Scots.

[1] The formal record of Harcla's condemnation is given in the Parliamentary Writs, II. ii. 262; Fœdera, ii. 509. With the following document compare Annals of Lanercost, pp. 248, 249.

" dam noluerit assentire, omnes ejusdem conventionis assertores, " fautores, et valitores una cum prædicto rege sic contrariantem confundere non omittent. Item si dominus rex Angliæ " infra annum proxime sequentem hujusmodi pacto voluerit consentire, videlicet quod præfatus rex Scotiæ habeat et teneat " sibi et heredibus suis libere et separaliter, ut prædicitur, " regnum suum; idem rex Scotiæ faciet construere quoddam " cœnobium infra regnum Scotiæ annui redditus quingentarum " marcarum sterlingorum pro animabus omnium in prædictis " præliis occisorum; ad hæc solvet regi Angliæ, infra x. " annos proximos subsequentes, quadraginta milia marcarum, " videlicet quatuor milia marcarum singulis annis sterlingorum; habebit etiam idem rex Angliæ maritagium heredis " masculi regis Scotiæ supradicti in suo sanguine maritandi, " si visum fuerit personis xii. prænotatis, quod utriusque populis " regni poterit expedire." Ista de indenturis.

A.D. 1322. Alleged negotiation of Harcla with the Scots.

Præterea idem Andreas scripsit majori et communitati villæ Novi Castri, supplicans et exhortans quod deberent conditionibus consentire. Copia litteræ continentis eandem materiam scribitur inter incidentia Chronicorum.

His intrigues at Newcastle

Nec multum post quidam in armis strenuus, Antonius de Luscy, banerettus, considerans exheredationem regis, et regni subversionem, ex præfatis conditionibus posse miserabiliter provenire, prædictum comitem ex mandato regis cepit et certæ custodiæ mancipavit, quousque regiam consuleret majestatem. Verum[1] regis archano sibi patefacto, sæpefatus comes accinctus gladio et calcaribus calciatus, coram judicibus assistitur tribunali, ubi propter proditionem spoliatus est cingulo militari, calcaribusque de talis abscisis cum securi, honore comitis est privatus, postea trahitur, suspenditur, decollatur et membratim ultimo dividitur, cujus partes in locis variis suspenduntur. Ecce! quem cupiditas et superbia exaltavit, et prætulit supra modum, miserabiliter cadere compulit in profundum, sicut lucide prædicitur in versibus vati-

He is arrested by Antony de Lucy.

He is degraded and executed.

[1] *Verum*] vestri, MSS.

A.D. 1323. cinalibus de gestis ejusdem comitis apud Pontemburgi, ubi de comitibus triumphavit. In isto siquidem Andrea per ipsius insipientiam probitates plurimæ perierunt. Nam ante illa tempora pluries cum Scotis feliciter dimicavit.

Negotiations for a perpetual peace.

Anno Domini millesimo CCC°XX°III°, instigante et procurante domino Henrico de Suly, apud Novum castrum fuit quidam tractatus[1] de scientia regum Angliæ et Scotiæ inter comitem de Penbroke, Hugonem Dispensatorem filium, magistrum Robertum de Baldok archidiaconum Mydelsexyæ, dominum Willelmum Herle militem, Willelmum de Eyremyn canonicum ecclesiæ beati Petri Eboracensis, et Galfridum le Scrope, ex parte regis Angliæ, et Willelmum episcopum Sancti Andreæ, Thomam Randolf comitem de Murefe, Johannem de Mentest, et Robertum de Lowether milites, magistrum Walterum de Twynham clericum, nuntios regis Scotiæ ex altera; super pace perpetua inter regna Angliæ et Scotiæ reformanda; sed quia videbatur eis, multis et variis rationibus hinc inde propositis, quod tam arduum et onerosum negotium sine majori consilio et deliberatione non potuit debite consummari, ex assensu partium prædictarum capta est treuga xiii. annorum proxime subsequentium, sub spe quod interim pax perpetua inter regna prælibata poterit ordinari. Et quia treuga diversas inter se continet rationes, ipsius copia in alio libro ponitur inter incidentia chronicorum.

A truce for thirteen years concluded.

A.D. 1324. Quarrel with France.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XX°IIII° orta est discordia inter reges Angliæ et Franciæ pro homagio ducatus Wasconiæ, quod quia rex Angliæ distulit facere, sicut fieri consuevit, rex Franciæ non modicam partem Wasconiæ invasit, diversas villas et civitates ejusdem in regis

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[1] The text of this truce, of which the above is a portion, is given by Blaneforde, ed. Riley, pp. 133, sq.; ed. Hearne, pp. 70, sq.; and in French in the Fœdera, ii. 521.

Angliæ præjudicium occupavit; unde, ad mitigandum regis Franciæ animum, ex assensu regis et procerum Angliæ, Isabella regina Angliæ circa Carnisprivium transfretavit, et adivit regem Franciæ fratrem suum, pro reformatione pacis inter reges Angliæ et Franciæ super terris, ut prædicitur, occupatis. Item eodem anno quidam frater Johannes Coby ordinis Prædicatorum, prior in conventu de Mesto[1] in provincia Provinciæ, rogatus per meliores homines de Mesto, assumptis secum quibusdam fratribus et multis aliis, adivit domum Gilberti de Corno defuncti, in qua per viii. dies integros a die defunctionis suæ quædam vox audita fuit per multos homines de Mesto, quæ quidem vox respondit fratri ad interrogata valde miserabiliter et dixit, quod fuit spiritus bonus, ut post de spiritu in alio libro inter incidentia chronicorum. A.D. 1324. Queen Isabella sent to France. A wonderful event in Provence.

Anno Domini millesimo ccc°xx°v^to missi sunt per dominum regem et magnates terræ ad Wasconiam, in protectionem et defensionem ejusdem, Edmundus comes Cantiæ germanus regis, et dominus Johannes comes Warenniæ, cum multis equitibus et armatis; sed valde modicum profuerunt. Et propter hoc habito tractatu cum proceribus regni, misit rex primogenitum suum Edwardum ad partes transmarinas, ut ipse et mater sua præmissa cum avunculo suo rege Franciæ tractarent super pacificatione inquietationis supradictæ. Regina vero cum primogenito suo moram prolixiorem in illis partibus trahens, quam dominus suus rex Angliæ sibi dederat in mandatis, timuit sibi de indignatione regis, et propter hoc sibi subsidium adinvenit, et tantum egit erga comitem Hanoniæ quod contraxerunt super matrimonio primogeniti sui Edwardi, tunc secum ibidem existentis, cum filia comitis Philippa, ut in sequentibus apparebit. Adhæsit ibidem reginæ dominus Rogerus de Mortuomari nepos, qui de Turri A.D. 1325. The earls of Kent and Warenne go to France. The young Edward sent. He is contracted to Philippa of Hainault.

[1] *Mesto*] No such name occurs among the Dominican houses of Provence, as given in Echard and Quetif, Scr. Ord. Dom. vol. i. p. xiii.

A.D. 1325. Roger Mortimer.

Londoniæ pro carcere sibi deputata latenter exiit et evasit.

A.D. 1326. The queen and her son land near Harwich, Sept. 24.

Anno Domini millesimo CCC°XX°VI°, octavo kalendas Octobris, Isabella regina Angliæ, cum filio suo primogenito Edwardo, apud Herewyche in Southfolck applicuit, ducens secum dominum Rogerum de Mortuomari nepotem, Edmundum comitem Cantiæ, Willelmum Trusselle, Thomam Rocelyn, Johannem de Ros, milites, et multos alios Anglicos; quos dominus rex et familiares sui tanquam proscriptos et exosos habuerunt, eo quod moram diuturniorem fecerant in partibus transmarinis quam per proceres fuerat ordinatum. Dominus Johannes, frater comitis Hanoniæ, cum multis alienigenis venit pariter cum eadem. Audiens igitur rex adventum reginæ, Anglicis et alienigenis stipatæ, turbatus est valde, et omnes familiares sui cum eo, dominumque Walterum de Stapeltone, episcopum Exoniensem, Londonias misit ut Londonienses et communitatem patriæ domino regi attraheret. Quem Londonienses, in cimiterio Sancti Pauli apprehensum, male tractantes extraxerunt et in strata regia decollaverunt, suis in fugam conversis; qui circa suas exequias intromittere non audebant, sed in loco quondam per mendicantes fratres sacci vocatos inhabitato traditur sepulturæ: sic que filii scelerati, caput . . . consecratum pontificis amputantes, locum dedicatum et civitatem regiam regni famosissimam pessime polluerunt. Audiens igitur rex rabiem Londoniensium, in quibus plurimum confidebat, versus Waliam cum utrisque Dispensatoribus patre et filio et quibusdam aliis familiaribus suis profectus est, ab omni subsidio desperatus. Igitur regina perpendens cor domini sui regis a se et a filio suo alienatum, necnon ab ipsis tanquam ab hostibus seipsum indies elongare, accersitis Henrico comite Lancastriæ aliisque magnatibus, indignatum animum domini sui mitigare et reconciliare, eidem adhærendo, toto conamine nitebantur; sed consiliarii

The king sends bishop Stapleton to London.

He is murdered by the mob.

The king flies towards Wales.

regis, propria demerita pavescentes, se ipsos approximare noluerunt. Et sic rex, infra Walliam latitans, ab ejus aspectibus se subtraxit. Tunc regina, salubre consilium suscipiens, in festinum duces et consiliarios domini sui malos ab ipsius latere studuit ammovere, quos etiam persequi et comprehendere disponebat. Et ita factum est. Nam feria proxima præcedenti vigiliam apostolorum Symonis et Judæ, Hugo Dispensator pater apud Bristolliam capitur, trahitur, suspenditur, et ultimo decollatur. Proht dolor! quod tantus vir, præminens temporibus suis sensu et probitate pollens, deberet desipere in extremis. Rex vero cum Hugone Dispensatore filio, et magistro Roberto de Baldok, per Wallenses proditus est et captus; ac feria proxima ante festum Sancti Edmundi episcopi et confessoris ducitur, et Henrico comiti Lancastriæ committitur, per quem in castro de Kenylworth certæ custodiæ deputatur. Item Edmundus comes de Arundell apud Salopiam in festo Sancti Hugonis episcopi et confessoris per dominum Johannem de Charleton capitur, et continue decollatur. Item Hugo Dispensator filius, feria proxime præcedenti festum Sanctæ Katerinæ virginis, apud Herefordiam coram judicibus producitur judicandus, cui ante tribunal astanti dominus Willelmus Trussell [miles] verba hujusmodi dirigebat:[1] " Quoniam tu, Hugo, et pater tuus, in parliamento regis " Edwardi dicti de Carnarvan tento Londoniis anno regni sui " xv°, per assensum communem, demeritis vestris exigentibus, " proscripti fuistis a regno Angliæ, nunquam ad eandem " reversuri nisi per regem et magnates in parliamento debito " summonito fueritis revocati, contra quod exilium et considera- " tionem præfatam redire non vocati temere præsumpsistis; et " tu in redeundo duas magnas naves alienigenas diversis mer- " cimoniis versus Angliam oneratas, de bonis ad valorem lx. " milium librarum sterlingorum, interfectis hominibus, spoliasti,

A.D. 1326. The king's counsellors prevent him from meeting the queen.

The elder Despenser beheaded at Bristol, Oct. 26.

The king is taken and imprisoned at Kenilworth. Nov. 15.

Execution of the earl of Arundel, Nov. 17.

Sentence on the younger Despenser, Nov. 24.

[1] *dirigebat*] The following Latin is an abstract of the sentence given in French, printed in Knighton, cc. 2547, sq.

A.D. 1326. The sentence on the younger Hugh le Despenser.

"in dedecus regis et populi scandalum, et in periculum mercatorum adeuntium exteras regiones. Item tu et pater tuus proditores convicti cum complicibus vestris, vobis regalem potestatem attrahentes, per Andream de Harcla notorium proditorem viros nobiles spoliastis et interemistis, videlicet comitem Herfordiæ, Willelmum de Sulye, Rogerum de Berfelde, et alios apud Pontem Burgi, et similiter dominum nostrum venerabilem comitem Lancastriæ decollari, barones suos optimos et milites apud Pontemfractum trahi et suspendi falsissime procurastis, dominos etiam de Clifforde, Moubray et Deyville apud Eboracum, necnon quamplures alios barones, banerettos et milites, in diversis locis tirannide trahi, suspendi et decollari fecistis, nonnullosque variis carceribus post rapinam bonorum suorum nequiter condempnastis; ita quod comitum et aliorum nobilium virorum prædictorum captio, incarceratio, et destructio, de vestris conspirationibus et falsis consiliis emanavit; item tu et pater tuus cum complicibus et fautoribus vestris dominum regem extra regnum suum ad debellandum hostes suos Scotiæ pessime eduxistis, ubi plusquam xx. milia hominum pro defectu debitæ dispositionis ductu vestro falsissimo perierunt, infectoque negotio redire cum dedecore est compulsus; cui in redeundo pessime consuluistis, ut nobilissimam dominam meam Angliæ reginam in maximo corporis sui periculo apud Tynmouthe relinqueret desolatam, cum in illius terræ finibus hostes undique confluebant; et exinde dominum nostrum regem usque moram de Blakhow intra manus hostium deduxistis, qui ipsum ibidem improvisum fere surripuissent, ad dedecus regis et populi sempiternum, prout interitus et captio plurimum declarabat; sicque serenissima domina mea et vestra, per vestrum proditorium consilium infortuniæ derelicta, fuisset fere perdita, ad opprobrium insanabile regis et populi Anglicani, nisi Dominus noster omnipotens ipsam oculo misericordiæ respexisset; cujus saluti et honori affuit gratiose; unde necessitate compulsa exposuit se periculo maximo pelagi fluctuantis, cum nunquam talis excellentissima domina fuit taliter derelicta. Item episcopos Herfordensem, Lincolniensem, Eliensem, et Norwicensem, pessime spoliastis, equos electos, vasa aurea et argentea, et alia ornamenta pretiosa, ab eisdem rapuistis, et ad tantam penuriam deduxistis quod de loco ad locum se transferebant pedibus incedendo; item induxisti dominum regem ad con-

"ferendum patri tuo comitatum Wintoniæ, et Andreæ de "Harcla, de proditione convicto, comitatum Karleoli; ac "etiam tibi plures terras coronæ pertinentes in exhereda- "tionem regiæ majestatis. Item per vestram falsam conspira- "tionem ejecistis dominam nostram reginam de terris per "dominum regem sibi datis et assignatis, quam etiam ordi- "nastis et posuistis ad sua vadia per dietas, contra statum et "excellentiam tantæ dominæ, semper inter dominum suum "regem et ipsam discordiam excitando. Item, quando domina "nostra sæpedicta cum filio suo mittebatur ad partes trans- "marinas, ad tractandum cum fratre suo rege Franciæ super "salvatione Vasconiæ, quæ fuit in periculo perditionis, misisti "tu maximam summam pecuniæ quibusdam tuis falsis com- "plicibus, qui tecum in destructionem ejusdem dominæ nostræ "conspiraverant, vel saltim quod ipsius et filii sui reditum "omnino debuissent impedire. Sed cum vestris nephandis "auribus insonuit, quod feliciter infra regnum Angliæ appli- "cuissent, spiritu nequam ducti, fecistis dominum regem se "ab eisdem elongare; quem etiam extra regnum eduxistis in "periculum et dedecus sui corporis atque status, transferentes "vobiscum sigillum magnum et thesaurum multum, qui in "ærario regis erat; et ideo consideratum est quod pro pro- "ditionibus sis tractus, pro rapinis suspensus, et, quia post "exilium reversus es et sine waranto repertus, decollatus; et, "quia semper inter regem et reginam ac alios regni nobiles "discordiam seminasti, evisceratus eris; visceribusque com- "bustis in quatuor partes divisus eris in locis variis suspen- "dendus"; unde versus vaticinii; A.D. 1326. The sentence on the younger Hugh le Despenser.

"Dispensatores[1] hircus vehet hic ad honores, Prophecy about the Despensers.
"Qui sibi majores non tractabunt per amores.
"Pro fastu natus periet pater inveteratus;
"Armorum flores veteres perdentque labores,
"Abscisis capita raro remeat quia vita,
"Membratim cæsus dici poterit male læsus."

Post hæc dominus rex de custodia comitis Lancastriæ educitur, et dominis Thomæ de Berkeley et Jo- Fate of the king.

[1] *Dispensatores*] I have not found these lines among the prophecies of John of Bridlington, but they are of the same character and probably from the same hand.

A.D. 1327. The king sent to Berkeley.

hanni Mautravers militibus in castro de Berkeley committitur sub custodia reservandus. Regina igitur et filius ejus primogenitus, convocatis Angliæ proceribus, parliamentum Londoniis tenuerunt. In quo magister Robertus de Baldok, archidiaconus Midelsexiæ, perpetuo carceri judicatur, ubi postmodum miserabiliter exspiravit. Deinde tractantibus illis de regni regimine, rationibus hinc inde propositis, compertum est regem inconsulte plurima perpetrasse, ipsumque minus sufficientem ad officium regium reputabant. Statuerunt ergo homagia sua rependere, ulterius sibi non obedituri, per quendam militem negotium[1] proferentem, apud Berkeley die Lunæ proxima ante festum Purificationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, anno Domini supradicto, et regni regis Edwardi sub custodia positi xix°, in hiis verbis:[2]—

Parliament at London.

Renunciation of allegiance.

Declaration of Trussell.

" Ego, Willelmus Trussell, procurator prælatorum, " comitum, et baronum, et aliorum in procuratorio " meo nominatorum, habens ad hoc plenam et suffici" entem potestatem, tibi Edwardo regi Angliæ tanquam " regi qui ante hæc tempora gubernavit, pro dictis " personis in præfato procuratorio meo nominatis, no" mine eorum omnium et singulorum, propter certas " causas in prædicto procuratorio expressas, reddo et " retrado fidelitates et homagia delibero, et acquieto " prædictas personas meliori modo quo lex et consue" tudo poterunt ordinare; et protestor, nomine eo" rum omnium et singulorum, quod ipsi in tuis fideli" tate, ligiantia, nolunt ulterius permanere, nec de te " tanquam de rege clamant aut curant de cetero quic" quam tenere. Immo te reputant et tenent amodo " personam privatam ab omnia regia dignitate." Et informatus continuo per nuntios tunc præsentes, cessit officio regali, et omni jure regio sibi competenti, coram notario, abrenunciavit, et a regni regimine se dimisit.

Edward resigns the crown.

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[1] *negotium*] negia, MSS.

[2] *hiis verbis*] Knighton, c. 2549.

Quod ut factum est, executores negotii Londonias reversi sunt, et rem gestam seriatim in pleno consilio recitaverunt, ac instrumenta super hoc exhibentes finem operis concluserunt. Et statim diffinitum et approbatum est ab omnibus et singulis regni nobilibus ibidem tunc præsentibus, quod filius pro patre ad regni regimen admittatur. Et ita factum est, ut in sequenti libro plenius ostendetur.

A.D. 1327. The resignation announced in parliament.

Brevis collectio hystoriæ præcedentis.

Rex [1] Edwardus, cujus gesta transcurrendo descripsimus, fuit corpore quidem elegans, viribus præstans, sed moribus, ut vulgo dicitur, multum discrepans. Nam, parvipenso procerum contubernio, adhæsit cantoribus, tragœdis, aurigis, navigiis, et aliis hujuscemodi artificiis mechanicis, magis alieno quam proprio consilio credens; in dando prodigus, in convivando dapsilis et splendidus, ore promptus, sermone varius, contra hostes infortunatus, in domesticos efferatus, ad unum aliquem familiarem ardenter adjectus, quem summe coleret, ditaret, præferret, a cujus præsentia abesse non sustineret, ac præ ceteris honoraret; unde provenit amanti opprobrium, amato obloquium et interitum, populo præcipitium, et regno detrimentum; indignos quoque et ineptos ad gradus ecclesiasticos promovit, qui postea sibi in angustiis non affuerunt. Tanto etiam in diebus ejus caristia omnis bladi generis fuit, tamque continua mortalitas hominum et morina armentorum extitit, quanto a retro sæculis vix fuerat unquam visa.

Character of Edward II.

In Kambria natus ibique proditus atque captus.

ITEM VERSUS VATICINALES DE EODEM.

" Transmittent Britones hircum sed non rationes,
" Hircus barbutus erit in sensu quasi mutus.
" Anglorum terra non regnabit sine guerra,
" Dapsilis et gratus sed in actibus infatuatus.

Prophetic verses about him.

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[1] With this character of Edward II. compare Ann. de Melsa, ii. 286; Knighton, cc. 2531, 2532; Higden, Polychronicon.

A.D. 1327. Verses about Edward II.

"Hircus cornutus nunquam certamine tutus,
"Tempora jocunda raro capiet vel habunda.
"Rex insensatus [1] est bellis undique stratus.
"Nobilis est natus qui dicitur infatuatus.
"Nam perdet gentem regni pro jure loquentem,
"Ac optimates nullus reddet sibi grates;
"Perdet cognatos pendere sinet veneratos;
"Rex pietate carens Christo non fit bene parens,
"Hircus erit [2] fortis sumens bona [munera] sortis,
"Regnans perdetur qui gentis non miseretur.
"Mors infecta malis consumet tempora talis.
"Summus contritum tandem faciet redimitum.
"Tempora [3] bis dena non accipiet sibi plena,
"Anglis regnando, secretum jam tibi pando."

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[1] *Rex insensatus*] From the prophecies of John of Bridlington, MS. Digby, 89, fo. 5.

[2] *Hircus erit*] This line does not occur in this place in the prophecy.

[3] *Tempora . . . pando*] Not in the prophecy.

Incipiunt gesta regis Edwardi tertii post Conquæstum.[1]

Tempore quo regnavit Edwardus rex Angliæ dictus de Carnarvan breviter jam decurso, ad disserendum gesta filii sui regis Edwardi tertii post Conquæstum stilum amodo divertamus. In quorum principio quædam oracula sibi quodammodo convenientia antiquitus nunciata breviter inseremus. Igitur temporibus Henrici regis Angliæ filii imperatricis orta fuit discordia inter patrem regem et Henricum suum primogenitum coronatum. Quæ quidem dissensio multum displicuit sancto Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et præcipue, dummodo cancellarii officio fungeretur, Henricum juvenem sibi in filium adoptavit. Et quadam die sedens in mensa discordiam conquerens cum assidentibus sibi clericis hujus materiam pertractavit, timens sibi ne discordiam ultio sequeretur. Et amota mappa positisque cubitis super mensam, sanctum caput in ablutis manibus inclinavit, nec multum post modicum dormitavit; ipsumque nolebant qui secum sederant excitare. Tandem expergefactus quandam brevem cedulam in manu sua repperit continentem versus,

A.D. 1327. Good omens and auspices of the new reign.

Prophecy revealed to S. Thomas of Canterbury.

H. patre submarcet post R. reget J.que relicto
E. post H. rex fit, E. post E. postea mira.[2]

Qua perlecta modicum suspiravit et subticuit. Ecce qualiter Dominus sanctum virum visitavit et sibi suæ

[1] *Ex eodem Codice Lumleyano:* MS. C. The title given in the transcripts is, "Continuatio Nicho-"lai Trivetti per quendam mona-"chum de Bridlington." The title as well as the designation of the author is a misnomer.

[2] These lines occur with the title, "Visio Sancti Thomæ Martiris "Cantuariensis archiepiscopi de "Regibus Angliæ;" in the *Minutiæ* appended by Hearne to his edition of Robert of Avesbury, p. 260.

A.D. 1327. Fulfilment of the prophecy.

compassionis reddit rationem. Scriptura namque veram prophesiam continet et subtilem. Nam superstite patre rege decessit filius coronatus, et aliorum quilibet successit alteri in regendo. Ad istum vero regem pertinet ut suis temporibus fiant mira. Cujus ingressum et progressum dirigat Ille per quem reges regnant, et corroboret semper felicibus incrementis. Item quodam tempore nobilissimus princeps Edwardus rex, avus domini nostri regis nunc, transfretavit ut videret Vasconiam et alias terras suas in partibus transmarinis, cui nobiles provinciarum per quas ipsum iter agere contigit, occurrerunt, reverentias debitas tanto principi facientes, de loco in locum ipsum honorifice conduxerunt. Et contigit quod quidam illius terræ magnus in itinerando regi adhæsit, et ipsis appropinquantibus, inter cetera tandem ille magnus sic alloquitur regem dicens; "Domine mi rex, non vos maneat, rogo, quod "interrogabo?" Cui rex, "Dicas quod volueris, et auscultabo." Tunc ille, "Quæro de vobis, domine mi "rex, utrum rex Angliæ præsens vel futurus debeat "conquirere terras hereditarie sibi competentes, per "regem Franciæ sibi surreptas et in sui præjudicium "occupatas?" Cui statim non respondit rex, sed subductis calcaribus urgebat equum quem sedebat, et, unius leucæ spatium meditans, equitabat. Tunc opponens suspicabatur regem commotum, et modicum se subtraxit. Et tandem dominus rex ipsum ex nomine appellavit et dixit, "Respondeo quod sic." Cui ille, "Ad quod, domine mi rex, respondetis?" Et ait rex, "Interrogationi tuæ: et dico tibi quod rex Angliæ non "solum terras injuriose sibi detentas conquirere præ "valebit, sed et diadema regni Franciæ per victoriam "optinebit. Quia venient dies in quibus erit rex "Franciæ cupidus, crudelis, vecors, et suæ communitati odibilis et exosus. Et per idem tempus erit "rex Angliæ munificus, misericors, audax hostium "expugnator, indigenis suis et alienigenis affabilis et

Adventure of Edward I. in Gascony.

His prophecy of the conquest of France.

"dilectus." Nec est dubium quin rex iste pro tunc inspiratus, eo quod bene concordat ejus responsio cum ultimis verbis oraculi præcedentis: opinatur ergo quod de isto rege juvene prophetavit. A.D. 1327. Fulfilment.

Postquam rex Edwardus dictus de Carnarvan, ut præmittitur, cessit regia dignitate, prælati, comites, barones, et alii regni proceres Londonias convenerunt, ejusque primogenitum Edwardum regem constituerunt, et die Dominica, quæ fuit dies proxime præcedens festum Purificationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, anno Domini M°CCC°XX°VI°, ætatis suæ xiiii°, de domino Johanne fratre comitis Hanoniæ suscepit ordinem militarem. Quem inunctum Walterus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, sicuti mos est, regni diademate insignivit. Cui omnes proceres terræ fidelitatem et homagium tunc fecerunt. Nec multum post terras, in manum regis seisitas tempore patris sui tanquam forisfactas, ipse novus rex rectis heredibus reddit gratiose. Legimus quod Arthurus rex Britonum anno ætatis suæ xv° ad regni regimen est admissus. Qui propter verum dilectionis indicium in scuto depictam gessit ymaginem Virginis gloriosæ. Rex iste junioris ætatis, ut prædicitur, in regni solio sublimatus benedictæ Virginis speciem ob purum devotionis affectum secum defert sculptam in cordis triclinio reverenter, cujus etiam nomen mellifluum in ipsius ore frequenter residet nominandum. Edward III. elected. Knighted Feb. 1. Crowned. Parallel of king Arthur.

"Hinc sublimata Mater reverenda Maria,
"Assis, virgo pia, quod tempora sint sibi grata,
"Sole serenaris ab alvo sanctificata,
"Sacri solaris splendore satis decorata,
"Subvenias regi juveni genitrix generosa
"Pro te namque regi cupit et quærit speciosa."

Item inter varia scripta quæ revolvi, vidi quoddam vaticinium metrice dictum, in quo rex iste taurus vocatur, et quod ibidem scriptum de tauro reperi non tacebo. Prophecy of the bull.

VERSUS VATICINII.[1]

A.D. 1327. Prophecy of the bull.

" Taurus erit fortis metuens nil tristia mortis,
" Sobrius et castus, justus sine crimine fastus,
" Ad bona non tardus, audax veluti leopardus;
" Semper erit taurus viridescens utpote laurus
" Fertilis et plenus, nummorum semper egenus,
" Agmina vaccarum [2] defendet vi propriarum;
" Hic subjugabit hostes, reges superabit;
" Vix mundo talis stauri ductor liberalis;
" Rex erit et custos, et diliget undique justos."

Expedition against the Scots.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XX°VII°, et regni regis primo, circa festum Pentecostes, rex Angliæ, adunatis Anglicis aliisque solidariis de Hannonia, cum apparatu bellico iter suum versus Scotiam dirigebat. Et veniens Eboracum adventum procerum expectabat, ubi Hannonici cum Anglicis dimicarunt, utrorumque pluribus interfectis. Et exinde usque Heydenbryge est profectus, sed interim hostes Scotiæ cum exercitu magno regem Angliæ infra regnum suum invadere statuerunt, Thoma Randolf comite de Murref et Jacobo de Douglas capitaneis constitutis; et habuerunt secum Duffenoldum comitem de Marr, qui fuit unus de pueris cameræ regis Edwardi de Carnarvan, sed ipso capto natale solum petiit; qui statim a Scotis est admissus et suo comitatui restitutus. Audientes Scoti adventum Anglorum, parcum de Stanhope adierunt, et inibi hospitati sunt; similiter et Anglici, ex altera parte rivuli cujusdam, fixis tentoriis quieverunt. Quadam igitur nocte quidam Scotus Jacobus de Douglas miles, cum paucis de suis, inter vigiles Anglorum sub-

The earl of Mar.

Adventure at Stanhope Park.

[1] These are among the prophecies of John of Bridlington, MS. Digby 89, fo. 9, with the following title, "Capitulum tertium docet "mores Edwardi de Wyndesore et "accidentia regni Angliæ tempore "juventutis suæ."

[2] *vaccarum*] vactarum, MSS.

ito per medium exercitum Anglicanum transivit, quosdam cepit, aliquos occidit, plurimos terribiliter evigilavit, ipsemet[1] illæsus, capellano suo tantummodo interfecto, ad exercitum proprium remeavit. Pudet dicere et tamen præsumitur et dicitur, quod talem invasionem non fecisset nisi cum quibusdam Anglicis conspirasset. Et sic, octo diebus decursis, Scoti noctanter parcum relinquentes, patrias spoliantes, ad partes proprias redierunt: nec multum post redeuntes Scoti castrum de Alnewyk per quindenam et amplius obsederunt; sed nihil proficientes, eo quod dominus Henricus de Percy munitionem suam propriam optime defendebat, castrum prædicti domini apud Werkeworthe adeunt, obsessuri; ubi quibusdam de suis interfectis, a suo proposito defraudati, versus Scotiam sunt profecti. Item eodem anno xi° kalendas Octobres, in festo Sancti Mathæi apostoli et evangelistæ, obiit Edwardus rex dictus de Carnervan, in castro de Berkeley, ubi fuit custodiæ deputatus, et in vigilia Sancti Thomæ apostoli proxime sequentis, apud Gloucestriam traditur sepulturæ. Qui regnavit decem et novem annis, duobus mensibus, et xix. diebus, quibus semper in formidine vivebat, familiares suos timuit, amicos velut hostes formidabat.

A.D. 1327. Exploit of James Douglas.

Siege of Alnwick by the Scots.

Death of Edward II., Sept. 21.

"O, qui scripta legis, memor esse velis rogo fati
"Edwardi regis de Carnervan vocitati;
"In cujus gestis Anglis, Kambris, manifestis
"Armatis mæstis occurrit plurima pestis;
"Edwardum regem Gloucestria condit humatum,
"Ad propriumque gregem ducas, bone Christe, beatum."

Verses about him.

De regis hujus decessu varia vulgariter opinantur, de qua materia ulterius disserere jam non curo, quia scribitur versus:—

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[1] *ipsemet*] ipsumque, C. This passage is to be compared with the Annales de Melsa, ii. 356, 357.

A.D. 1327. Admonitory verses.

"Credo quod interdum multis mendacia prosunt,
"Et quandoque nocet omnia vera loqui,
"Vera loqui nocuit, nocuit nimis esse fidelem,
"Res ea me docuit ne cunctis cuncta revelem.
"Exiet et rediet firmatus nomine patris
"Ejus et interiet genitor terebratus in atris.[1]
"Arte suæ matris regnum rapiet sibi patris
"Funera post patris quæret regalia matris."[2]

Sed quod in vaticinio metrico de domino rege nostro nunc et patre suo dicitur audiamus versus.[3]

A.D. 1328. Treaty for the marriage of David Bruce with the king's sister.

Item, eodem anno, xvii° die Martii, apud Edenburghe fuit quidam tractatus inter Robertum de Bruys regem Scotiæ ex parte una et venerabiles patres Henricum de Lincolnia et Willelmum Norwicensem episcopos, ac nobiles viros Henricum de Percy, Willelmum la Souche de Ascheby, et Galfridum le Scrope, nuntios et procuratores regis Angliæ ex altera, super matrimonio contrahendo inter David filium et heredem prædicti Roberti de Bruys, et Johannam sororem regis Angliæ supradicti. Et quia propter ætatis insufficientiam matrimonium tunc temporis contrahere non valebant, concordatum fuit quod, quamcitius ad hoc contulerit se pubertas,[4] matrimonium debite celebretur. Similiter ordinatum fuit in eisdem indenturis quod prædictus rex Scotiæ assignabit Johannæ in bonis sufficientibus infra regnum Scotiæ duas milia libratas terræ, et redditus annuatim percipiendos, cum feodis militum, advocationibus[5] ecclesiarum, et omnibus aliis libertatibus eidem terræ pertinentibus, ad terminum vitæ prædictæ Johannæ, salvis prædicto regi Scotiæ, heredibus et successoribus suis, advocationibus abbathiarum, prioratuum, hospitalium, ac aliis juribus coronæ suæ

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[1] *atris*] actis, C.

[2] *Exiet . . . matris*] Prophecy of John of Bridlington, MS. Digby 89, fo. 5 vo.

[3] The verses are not given in the MSS.; possibly because they occur in fragments in different parts of the annals. But it is possible that this paragraph should have been inserted before "Exiet, &c." above.

[4] *pubertas*] publicat, C.

[5] *advocationibus*] a dominationibus, C.

spectantibus ab antiquo; et, si contingat prædictum David post celebratum matrimonium in fata decedere, præfata Johanna superstite remanente, supradictæ duæ milia libratæ terræ et redditus sæpedictæ Johannæ, nomine dotis, debent nihilominus remanere, ita quod aliam dotem petere non poterit nec habere. Ista patent evidentius in indenturis super hujusmodi tractatu factis et consignatis, quarum copia scribitur inter incidentia cronicorum, ubi invenies diversas rationes hinc et inde propositas, pro pace inter regna perpetuo reformanda. Item eodem anno, ante Natale Domini Philippa filia comitis Hannoniæ cum avunculo suo Johanne venit in Angliam; quam dominus Edwardus rex Angliæ duxit uxorem in majori ecclesia beati Petri Eboraci, domino W. de Meletone ejusdem archiepiscopo solempniter celebrante, die Dominica proxima ante Conversionem Sancti Pauli proxime tunc sequentem. Item eodem anno dominus Walterus Reginaldi, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, in fata decessit; cui successit magister Simon de Mepeham, sacræ professor theologiæ, electione canonice celebrata.

A.D. 1328. Terms of the alliance.

Arrival of Philippa.

The king's marriage, Jan. 24.

Succession of archbishop Mepeham.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XX°VIII°, et regni regis ii^do^, Henricus comes Lancastriæ, Henricus de Bellomonte, Thomas le Wake,[1] Hugo Daudeley, et plures alii cum communitate Londoniensi contra dominum regem insurgere disponebant; sed cito post comes Lancastriæ, Hugo Daudeley, et Thomas le Wake, eventum rei dubium opinantes, se regis gratiæ submiserunt. Domini vero Henricus de Bellomonte, Willelmus Trussell, Thomas Rocelyn, Thomas Wyther, et alii non sine causa a conspectu regis se subtraxerunt, et in transmarinis partibus morantur.[2] Item eodem anno, in mense Julii, David de Bruys desponsavit Johannam sororem regis Angliæ apud Berewyk super Thwedam, regina Angliæ et aliis pluribus utriusque regni magnatibus ibidem præsenti-

Attempt of the earl of Lancaster.

Marriage of David Bruce.

[1] *le Wake*] de Wake, C. A close agreement is here to be traced between our annals and the Annales de Melsa ii. 358, 359.

[2] *morantur*] moriantur, C.

A.D. 1328. Verses on the Scottish marriage.

bus, juxta condictum expressum in indenturis superius memoratis: unde in vaticinio metrico dicitur de eodem versus;

" Taurus regnabit,[1] sed mater confœderabit
" Cum Scotis nata Dinad[2] cancro copulata;
" Pax erit in terra rediet sed Scotica guerra;
" Psalletur gestis Dinad[3] luxuria festis,
" Qui tenet uxores uxore sua meliores."

A.D. 1329. Philippa crowned, Feb. 4.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXIX°, et regni iii^tio, pridie nonas Februarii, domina Philippa regina Angliæ a magistro Simone de Mepeham archiepiscopo Cantuariensi est Londoniis coronata;

" Deficient mores, regales perdet honores,
" Pignus amoris, pacta sororis non solidabunt;
" Anterioris facta doloris nam reboabunt."[4]

Execution of the earl of Kent.

Item, eodem anno, dominus Edmundus de Wodstok comes Cantiæ, avunculus regis, apud Wyntoniam decollatur, eo quod circa deliberationem fratris sui Edwardi regis incarcerati continue laborabat, quosdam proceres ad illud idem faciendum exhortando. Et hoc quidem sibi per quosdam suos æmulos sibi extitit imputatum.

War between Lewis of Bavaria and the pope.

Item eodem anno orta est magna discordia inter papam Johannem XXII. et Lodowycum ducem Bavariæ, imperatorem Alemanniæ. Contra papa pluries[5] misit exercitus suos, quos ille viriliter expugnavit, multasque civitates Ytaliæ imperio rebelles vi occupavit et imperio subjugavit. Ista siquidem briga durante, clerus transmontanus et populus Romanus, cum duce Bavariæ prædicto, quem sibi fecerunt imperatorem Romanorum, præfatum papam Johannem, Avinioniæ sedentem, Romæ publicaverunt hæreticum juste deponendum; et quen-

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[1] *Taurus regnabit*] John of Bridlington, MS. Digby 89, fo. 11 vo.: the whole section contains 22 lines.

[2] *Dinad*] Dyna, Joh. Brid.

[3] *Dinad*] David, Joh. Brid.

[4] *Deficient . . . reboabunt*] These are the last three lines of the fourth section of the prophecy.

[5] *pluries*] plures, C.

dam fratrem ordinis Minorum Petrum de Corvaris natu Romanum in papam elegerunt, quem Nicholaum quintum vocaverunt. Qui postea pœnitens facti sui accessit ad papam Johannem Avinioniæ, et fassus[1] electionem suam non fuisse canonicam; unde papatu cessit, absolutionem optinuit, et secum ibidem in curia, pro tempore quo superfuit, moram traxit; unde versus vaticinales:— A.D. 1329. The anti-pope Nicolas V.

" Gentis Romanæ[2] pastor erit alter inane
" Qui Petri plane solium capiet sibi mane.
" Balthasar in cœnis vasis potavit amœnis
" Summo dicatis de Templo vi spoliatis,
" Pro techel et mane phares discussaque plane
" Quod fuit immane didicit sacra tangere vane."

Hoc anno fecit rex Angliæ homagium Philippo de Valesia pro Vasconia. The king does homage for Gascony.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°, et regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquæstum iiii^to^, natus est Edwardus filius regis Edwardi ex Philippa regina apud Wodstok, xvii° kalendas Julii. Item eodem anno in festo Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ, fere nocte media dominus rex in castro de Notingham, Hugone de Trompyngton milite interfecto, et quibusdam aliis militibus et scutariis vulneratis, introitum cameræ matris suæ sibi præcludentibus, cepit dominum Rogerum de Mortuomari, Oliverum de Ingham, Johannem Mautravers, Symonem de Berford militem, et Henricum de Burghasche episcopum Lincolniensem; quos continuo misit Londonias usque ad parliamentum in salva custodia conservandos. A.D. 1330. June 15. Birth of the king's son. Arrest of Mortimer and his friends.

Item, circa festum Sanctæ Katherinæ proxime sequens, in parliamento Londoniis, idem Rogerus de Mortuomari propter sibi imposita et, ut dicebatur, per Mortimer condemned to death.

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[1] *fassus*] falsus, MSS.

[2] *Gentis Romanæ*] From the prophecies of John of Bridlington, fo. 25, Digby 89. The copy of these prophecies in Bodl. 487 ends with the words "potavit amœ-" nis."

A.D. 1330. Nov. 29. Mortimer executed.

ipsum confessa, et præcipue quia de Turre Londoniensi, ubi fuit incarceratus, exiit fugitivus, morti est addictus, et ibidem in vigilia Sancti Andreæ apostoli tractus est et suspensus, ac inter fratres Minores est sepultus; unde versus,

"Occultis portis lustris capiet mare mortis
"Illicitis scortis solitum cameris et in hortis
"Qui fuerat fortis morietur turbine sortis."[1]

Henry de Beaumont and Wake pardoned.

Item in eodem parliamento dominus rex gratiose remisit dominis Henrico de Bellomonte, Thomæ Wak, et aliis similiter, hoc quod sibi deliquerant, de quibus superius fecimus mentionem. Item ibidem ordinatum fuit quod Isabella, mater domini regis Angliæ, haberet pro dote quatuor milia marcarum terræ annis singulis vitæ suæ. Item in eodem parliamento Symon de Berford miles, suis demeritis exigentibus, tractus est et suspensus.

The queen's jointure.

Simon de Berford hanged.

A.D. 1331. Accident at a tournament.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°I°, et regni regis Edwardi Tertii post conquæstum quinto, dominus rex habuit hastiludium triduo Londoniis in vico qui le Chepe . . . ubi quædam machina lignea, in modum solarii facta, pro regina et aliis regni dominabus, corruit et læsit plurimos in cadendo.

De gestis Edwardi de Balliolo, versus:

Exploits of Edward Balliol.

"Rem referam gestam, multis populis manifestam,
"Scotis infestam, pro multo tempore mæstam;
"De regnis binis, factis hinc inde rapinis;
"Edwardus, natus Johannis Balliolensis
"Quondam Scotensis regis, tunc magnificatus,
"Vestit loricam, gentem cupiens inimicam
"Albanectensem sibi suppeditare per ensem;
"Quingentos equites loricatos numeravit,

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[1] *Occultis . . . . sortis*] Joh. Bridl., MS. Digby 89, fo. 9.

"Mille simul[1] pedites fortes sibi consociavit;
"Hanc armatorum modicam siquidem validorum
"Turmam collegit, quæ fortia bella peregit.
"Per mare sufficiunt naves, et cuncta parata,
"Nec sibi deficiunt quæ sunt ad prælia grata.
"Vela patent ventis ducuntur per mare latum
"Ad portum gratum; laus inde[2] sit omnipotenti.
"Obsistunt Scoti, nulli se subdere curant,
"Dum vires durant, concurrunt undique moti,
"Litus scandentes, Anglos mactare volentes,
"Sed concurrentes cito facti sunt fugientes,
"Kynkhorn testatur quod Scotus subpedetatur,
"Quando calcatur qui princeps esse putatur.
"Dipplin clamat idem, tanti mactantur ibidem.
"Turbine namque pari quot non possunt numerari
"Coguntur tandem massam componere grandem.
"Ut multi fantur, expirantes tumulantur;
"Sic conquæstores pauci facti meliores,
"Mutando mores multos mercantur honores.
"Scotis languores inducunt atque dolores,
"Quod successores sunt ammodo deteriores.
"Hiis consummatis metri finem faciamus,
"De prætaxatis ad principium redeamus.
"Plus pandet prosa per planitiem super glosa
"Gestorum dicta quam metro carmina picta."

A.D. 1332. Exploits of Edward Balliol.

De navigatione ejus, et profectione versus Scotiam.[3]

Balliol collects an army for the invasion of Scotland.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°II° dominus Edwardus, filius et heres Johannis de Balliolo quondam regis Scotiæ, cum dominis Henrico de Bellomonte comite de Boghan, Gilberto de Dunfranville comite Angosæ, et David de Strabolgan comite de Ascetell, Richardo Talbot,

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[1] *simul*] sunt, C.

[2] *inde*] in, C.

[3] The following details agree almost verbally with the Annales de Melsa, ii. 362, sq.

A.D. 1332. July 31. They set sail from Barton on Humber and Hull; Henrico de Ferrariis, Fulcone filio Warini, Nicholao de la Beche, Radulfo de Stafforthe, Thoma Ughtred, Alexandro de Moubray, Johanne de Moubray, Roberto de Wincestre, et Waltero Comyn, baronibus et banerettis, cum nonnullis aliis Anglicis solidariis, equis, cum suis pabulis et aliis necessariis, in quater viginti et octo navibus majoribus et minoribus collocatis, ultimo die mensis Julii, videlicet in festo Sancti Germani episcopi, apud Bartone et Kyngeston super Hulle, æquoreum iter arripiunt, et versus Scotiam altum sulcantes per sex dies continuos et sex noctes, fluctuum discrimina non and reach Kinghorn on August 6. modica sunt perpessi; septimo tandem die, videlicet in crastino Sancti Oswaldi regis et martyris, apud Kynkehorne in comitatu de Fyfe applicuerunt. Quibus ripam ascendentibus comes de Fyfe cum xxiiii. milibus equitum et peditum, ut eos expugnaret, occurrebat; equis etiam nondum de navibus eductis, incedendo They defeat the Scots under the earl of Fife. pedibus pugnaverunt. Ipsis itaque dimicantibus, nonnulli de Scotis ceciderunt; inter quos Alexander de Setone miles filius perimitur, ceteri in fugam convertuntur. Insequebantur Anglici Scotos sibi terga vertentes, donec montium difficultas armatos vetuit insequi longius fugientes; videntes itaque tam celerem victoriam a Domino sibi concessam, humiliter et devote supplicabant, ut iter et opus inceptum, cujus principium tam gratiose decoravit, continuaret et finiret. After two days' rest at Dunfermline they march to the river Earn, where an army awaits them under the earl of Mar, their supposed ally. Equis igitur et ceteris necessariis de navibus eductis, venerunt ad cœnobium de Donfermelyn, ibique biduo commorantes, in regnum ulterius processerunt ad fluvium quod dicitur Erne, ibique figentes tentoria hospitantur, videruntque trans flumen exercitum prægrandem equitum et peditum adunatum. Quorum dux et instructor Duffenoldus, comes de Marr, qui per litteras et internuntios consilium et auxilium eisdem dominis multipliciter promiserat, ad ripam ex transverso veniens, illos verbis talibus est adhorsus: "Milites," inquit "præsumptuosi, quibus ab oris huc advecti estis,

"vel quid in hac regione quæritis, aut quo dux vester "censetur nomine nobis dicere non tardetis;" at illi: "Optimatum hujus[1] terræ filii sumus, ac, de suis con-"silio et auxilio confidentes, cum hujus regni recto "herede domino Edwardo de Balliolo hucusque ad-"venimus, terras et tenementa quæ nobis hereditarie "competunt postulantes; credimus siquidem adventum "nostrum apud te fore laudabilem atque gratum, sicut "inter nos est sæpius prælocutum; nec opus est seria-"tim pandere nomina singulorum, eo quod hujus "operis consiliarius aliquando exstitisti." Quibus ille: "Nequaquam, quia nunc aliter fatum et fortuna pac-"tum hujusmodi commutarunt. Perditionem vestram "siquidem doleo, cum per subitam vestram invasionem "et adventum indiscretum totum regnum Scotiæ com-"movistis, et in vestram confusionem, prout ipsi cerni-"tis, excitastis." Hiis et hujusmodi hinc inde propo-sitis, abinvicem discesserunt; et videntes se ab omni auxilio comitis defraudatos, habitoque super hiis verbis tractatu, circa solis occasum, instructi per quosdam patrias et vada fluminis cognoscentes, instante nocte aquæ transitum disponebant. Ibique super ripam noc-tis caliginem expectantes fluvium tranvadarunt, et hostium tentoria petentes ingrediuntur cubilia sopi-torum, et nullam[2] [misericordiam] habentes cædunt undique consurgentes. Ad gemitus itaque morientium evigilant ceteri, et cum nec arma capiendi neque fu-gam faciendi congruum spatium haberent, inermes discurrunt inter armatos quo eos impetus tunc duce-bant, nihilominus tale præmeditati, huc et illuc fugi-entes. Irruentibus Anglicis cadunt hostes continuo vulnerati. Cum igitur in hunc modum noctem penitus consumpserunt, et sub Auroræ luce tanta ruina populi patuit interfecti, miserunt quosdam ad scrutandum utrum tanta cædes erat peditum an etiam armatorum.

A.D. 1332. August.
They declare their claim on the lands of their inheritance.

The earl's answer.

They cross the river and surprise the Scots.

Examination of the slain.

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[1] *hujus*] habuimus, C. | [2] *nullam*] ullam, C

A.D. 1332. August.

Et redeuntes nunciaverunt omnes pedites quotquot fuerant interfecti. Et vere sic erat. Nam omnes equites et armati pontem pariter obsidebant, æstimantes advenas vadæ fluminis ignorare. Sed cum sol diem proximum adduxisset, miserunt exploratores circumspectos, ne in manus hostium inciderent improvise. Et ecce statim comes de Marr prædictus, cum Scotis in cuneis more suo dispositis, venit obviam eis in multitudine maxima, pedibus incedendo, circiter xl. milia peditum et hominum armatorum. Tunc Anglici in oculis suis parvi, non de sua virtute sed de Dei misericordia confidentes, quamvis pauci, quingenti equites et armati, et mille pedites et sagittarii, contra hostes aciem dirigebant. Scoti vero præsumptuose ad bellum animum componebant. Dispositis itaque turmis et sagittariis suis, ut collaterales cuneos hostium invaderent, ipsi armati magnum exercitum expugnabant. Et, facto congressu, Scotorum impetum primo non ferentes, aliquantulum retrocedere compelluntur, et de superius animati resistunt, clypeos ictibus prætendendo; hostium vero minores turmæ per sagittarios plurimum lacerati, adhærere magno exercitui compelluntur, et in brevi conglobati, alius ab alio premebatur; ita a suis suffocati, et magis quam gladiorum ictibus verberati, acervum valde mirabile componebant. Sicque condensati, ac si fuissent funibus colligati, miserabiliter expirabant. Videns tandem comes de Fyfe se suosque in extremo mortis positos, decrevit ad horam hostibus cedere, quam cum detrimento diutius præliari; et provido consilio cum non multis a certamine declinavit. Scotis igitur terga vertentibus, dominus Henricus de Beaumount cum suis equis petiit dispersos insequuturus, et cædem in hostes statuit facere fugientes. Et ceteri qui remanserant jussi sunt ambire massam hostium superius memoratam, et eam assiduis debellationibus infestare. Ex ideo siquidem acervo, ut creditur, divina ultimatione mirabiliter con-

Scouts are sent out.

A general engagement.

Confusion and rout of the Scots.

The earl of Fife retreats.

Henry de Beaumont pursues.

globato, non potuit extrahi unus vivus; ceciderunt illo die de parte superba Scotorum tres comites, videlicet Duffenoldus de Marr, prædictus custos Scotiæ, ad cujus nutum regni negotia pertinebant, et comites de Murreffe et de Menteste, xviii. banneretti, lviii. milites, DCCC. equites, MCC. armati et pedites plurimi, præter acervum cujus numerum nemo novit. Massa siquidem vel acervus prædictus, mirabiliter ut præmittitur conglobatus, altitudinem quindecim pedum habebat; metrico lucide scribitur de eodem versus. A.D. 1332. August. Terrible slaughter. The great heap of slain.

"Quidam[1] ballivus, armis jam nominativus,
"Voce vocativus tauri tauroque dativus,
"Sternet equos, ligni medio latitat leo signi
"Ipsos ascendens, ad Scotica cornua tendens,
"Militiæ girum facient Angli bene mirum,
"Temporibus gentis cum pennatis ferientes;
"Namque loco læto non sunt Scoti sine leto,
"Scotos dum gentes terebrabunt arcus habentes,[2]
"Et viduæ flentes sponsos quærent morientes."

Facta igitur discomfitura, de fugatione revertentes circa horam diei nonam, Edwardus de Balliolo et sui, ubi fuerat prælium, convenerunt, et pro concessa sibi victoria Dominum collaudantes, quid agere debeant disponebant; et inter se dicebant "Quos nostros sperabamus familiares jam experti scimus contra nos aciem direxisse; unde fratres et filii et parentes ipsorum quibus istam et hesternam stragem intulimus, necis illorum ultores, æterno odio nos habebunt; petamus ergo aliquod oppidum cujus munimine tutius quiescamus." Et continuo villam Sancti Johannis adierunt, eamque ceperunt, et mœnia diruta cum palis et tabulis munierunt. Hoc comperto, qui de bello fugientes evaserunt resociatis et collectis viribus terræ, villam quatriduo obsederunt et expug- Deliberations of the victorious lords. They take and occupy Perth.

[1] *Quidam*] Joh. Bridl., MS. Digby 89, fo. 11 vo.

[2] *arcus habentes*] architenentes, Joh. Br.

A.D. 1339. August. Siege of Perth.

nantes, aditum cujusdam Johannis Crawe de Berewyko in ipsorum subsidium expectant. Obsessi siquidem electos de suis equites et sagittarios nonnullos apud Meffen ad deprædandum direxerunt; nec propter metum obsidentium desistere voluerunt, quin prædam non modicam reduxerunt. Similiter et aquæ cursum in fossatas villæ decurrentis aperuerunt ab hostibus obturatum. Interim Johannes Craw prædictus, pirata crudelissimus, apud Berewycum navigium præparans, armatos mille præter nautas secum ducens, expugnaturus occupantes villam Sancti Johannis, pelagum est ingressus; et navibus prædictorum conquæstorum prope Kynkhorne ubi applicuerant, in salo dimissis, ab omnibus fere vacuis nautis duntaxat CC^{tis}, obviat;[1] [qui] perpendentes cum tanta multitudine se congredi non posse, divinum flagitantes auxilium, et, timore postposito, velis in altum extensis, et in mare versis, fugam capere compulerunt. Quo audito, qui villam Sancti Johannis obsederant, stupefacti obsidione dimissa recesserunt.

John Craw sails from Berwick.

The siege abandoned.

Coronatio Edwardi de Balliolo.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°II°., disgregatis, ut præmittitur, Scotis, præfati conquæstores custodiam villæ Sancti Johannis comiti de Fif nuper ad pacem venienti, eisdemque fidelitatem juranti, commiserunt, et usque Scone divertentes, vocatis quibusdam Scotorum proceribus, episcopis et abbatibus, cum provincialibus qui paci se submiserant, episcopus de Dunkeldyn Edwardum de Balliolo regali diademate coronavit. Ubi contigit quod in hujusmodi solempnitate raro tamen legitur contigisse; omnes namque qui interfuerunt refectioni armati præter galeas existebant. Arguebat eos siquidem necessitas, quia metu magis quam dilec-

Perth is committed to the earl of Fife, who joins the lords.

Edward Balliol crowned.

[1] Compare Annales de Melsa, ii. 365, where, however, unfortunately there are no materials for improving the reading of the text.

tione eis populus et proceres inclinabant, sicque qui armati manu et valida regnum Scotiæ conquisivit, ipsum ab armatis decuit coronari.

A.D. 1332. A coronation in arms.

De gestis apud Rokesburghe.

Rege igitur, ut præmittitur, insignito et discursis postmodum paucis diebus, apud Rokesburghe veniunt præfati conquæstores, ut fessa corpora recrearent; hoc autem moleste ferentes regni superstites tantasque cædes sibi et suis primitus illatas ad memoriam revocantes, convocatis tironibus et resociato dilapso populo, in novum regem irruere subito disponebant; Scotisque ad pontem de Rokysburghe confluentibus, Thomas Ughtred cum suis transitum impedivit, donec rex et sui arma sumerent et Scotis irruentibus obviarent. Nec mora, sed illis hinc inde convenientibus, fit magna cædes inter eos, quæ magis in Scotis illata compulit eos pontem relinquere, nec sine suorum maximo detrimento. Quidam tamen vi capiebantur, inter quos Andreas de Murref miles, et pessimus ille pirata Johannes Crawe prædictus, qui strages plurimas navales Anglicis intulerat multis annis, in dicto conflictu cum nonnullis aliis referuntur.

The army comes to Roxburgh.

Attack of the Scots on the bridge.

They have to retreat with loss.

De prima expulsione Edwardi de Balliolo de regno Scotiæ apud Anandum.

Hiis ita gestis, sæpefatus rex Scotiæ commilitonibus suis, qui secum non modica discrimina sunt perpessi, terras et tenementa diversaque munera rite laboribus compensatis liberaliter est largitus. Nec multum post comites de Boghan et Assextellis, ceterique domini, et omnes fere Anglici, terras visitaturi in Angliam redierunt. Rex vero Scotiæ cum paucis admodum Anglicis sed et Scotorum multa familia stipatus, die Dominica in festo Sanctæ Luciæ virginis apud Anan-

Balliol distributes fiefs to his followers.

He is left alone in Scotland.

A.D. 1332. Dec. 13. Edward Balliol is expelled from Scotland.

dum est profectus, ubi duos dies habuit pacificos, sed tertio die incursu subito Scotorum inde enormiter expulsus. Nam, quia fidem in Scotis quasi nodum in cirpo quæsivit, sibi quoddam infortunium accidit valde grave. Vigiles vero sui hujusmodi proditionem fieri permittebant; irruerunt namque comes de Murref et Archebaldus de Douglas miles cum multis aliis noctanter, et, in eum subito irruentes, Walterum Comyn militem et quosdam de suis maxime Scotos percusserunt, aliquos ceperunt. Ipse vero rex cum paucis de suis ascenso equo versus Angliam iter arripiens vix evasit.

A.D. 1333. January. Parliament at York.

Item eodem anno post Natalem Domini Edwardus rex Angliæ apud Eboracum suum tenuit parliamentum; ubi, clero et regni proceribus congregatis, venerunt dominus Randulfus de Kerr, et Alexander Comyn baneretti, et Johannes de Felton miles, directi per præfatum regem Scotiæ domino regi Angliæ, tanquam capitaneo domino regni Scotiæ, ac humiliter supplicabant quatenus injuriis domino suo regi Scotiæ multipliciter illatis potestate regia compati dignaretur, et ut æmulos suos, qui ipsum de regni sui Scotiæ finibus expulerunt et exterminare conabantur, per solidarios Anglicos iterum expugnare concederet facultatem; sicque favente Domino et subvenientibus Anglicis suæ restitui poterit regiæ dignitati. Habito super hiis tractatu, perpendens tandem rex Angliæ subjectioni regni Scotiæ quod progenitoribus suis Angliæ regibus competebat, pro quo sæpius decertabant, et multum sanguinis effundebant, favente jam Domino, sibi protinus imminere, si sæpedictum regnum Scotiæ præfato regi Balliolensi restitueretur, prædictorum nunciorum petitionibus favorabilius inclinavit, annuens ut omnes et singuli qui terras et tenementa in prædicto regno Scotiæ clamabant sibi competere quovis jure, ad id perficiendum manus apponerent adjutrices. Tento itaque ut præmittitur apud Eboracum parliamento, in principio Quadragesimæ, proxime sequentis, præfatus rex

Edward Balliol asks the help of king Edward.

The king listens to the proposal.

Scotiæ cum comitibus de Boghan, Ascetle, et Anegos, ac non multis Anglicis equitibus et sagittariis stipendiariis, versus Scotiam est profectus, statimque post multi nobiles Angliæ in eorum subsidium indies confluebant, et apud Novum Castrum super Tynam per dies aliquot expectantes, donec adunatis xx[ti] milibus equitum et peditum electorum Scotiam adierunt, villam de Berwyk obsederunt; cujus castri et villæ custodiam habuerunt comes Patricius et Alexander de Scetone milites per Scotos assignati. Isti quidem deforis, satagentes villam viribus optinere, machinas et propugnacula fieri faciebant; illi vero infra, nec castrum nec villam reddere curantes, viriliter resistebant. Interim per duos dies ante festum Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, eodem anno finiente, Willelmus Douglas et de Poldric,[1] et alii circiter quatuor milia Scotorum juxta Karliolum Angliam intraverunt, et patriam deprædantes oppida plurima combusserunt, æstimantes Anglicos obsidionem velle deserere, et ipsos persequi, ut solebant. Hoc audiens Antonius de Luscye custos Karlioli, collectis admodum paucis de patria, scilicet quingentis, Scotos cum non modica præda domi revertentes insecutus est, et infra limites Scotiæ cum eisdem congressus est ipso die Annuntiationis Dominicæ, ubi prædictus Willelmus Douglas et alii capiebantur, et Scoti plurimi sunt occisi.

A.D. 1333. February. Balliol collects a force.

Berwick besieged.

March 23. Invasion of Cumberland by the Scots.

Victory of Antony de Lucy, March 25.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°III°, regni vero regis Angliæ Edwardi vii[mo], post Pascham in manu valida idem rex versus Scotiam arrepto itinere Berwycum venit, dispositisque circumquaque machinis per terram et per mare illam undique expugnavit. Nautæ vero maris fluxum expectantes, navibus ad muros deductis, hostes sæpius insultabant, ac ipsi deintus dolios bituminatos accendentes ut naves comburerent præparantes, ceciderunt in foveam quam fecerunt. Nam Domino

Edward comes to Berwick after Easter.

Attempt to burn the fleet.

[1] Thomas Kirkpatrick (?); or Patrick Polwarth (?).

A.D. 1333. June. A church burned, and a truce granted.

disponente flamma conversa magnam partem villæ et quandam ecclesiam devoravit; ultioni divinæ, ut creditur, et hominum insultibus resistere non valentes, de muris acclamantes regiamque clementiam flagitantes usque in crastinum inducias postulabant, asserentes se velle regiæ voluntati in omnibus subjacere. Annuit; Anglici quieverunt; Scoti vero per totam noctem ignis rabiem temperantes et murorum custodias præparantes in crastino resistebant. Anglici vero ad expugnandum villam iterum ascenderunt. Et hoc perpendentes Scoti humiliter supplicantes ad regis Angliæ colloquium pervenerunt, habitoque tractatu cum eisdem, tandem præfati custodes quindecim dierum inducias petierunt, et si infra idem tempus prædicta villa per suos non fuerit refugata, in crastino post quindenam villa cum castro Anglicis redderetur. Ad hujusmodi pacti confirmationem xii. obsides tradiderunt, quod si pactum non servarent statim obsides necarentur. Sæpedicti custodes continuo transmittunt litteras condictum [1] quod præscribitur continentes.

The attack renewed.

A truce for fifteen days.

The earl of Ulster slain, June 6.

Dum ista taliter agerentur, comes de Hulvester, regis Angliæ consanguineus, equis, armis et ceteris ad bella necessariis dispositis, ex Hibernia veniens in subsidium regis Angliæ, Dominica proxima post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis a suis in Hibernia est proditus et occisus. Undecimo itaque die mensis Julii, qui quidem fuit Dominicus et induciarum prædictarum ultimus, Scoti exercitu grandi adunato in aurora diei fluvium de Twede transierunt, et vexillis explicatis infra limites Angliæ usque Twedemouthe processerunt, donec venientes ex opposito exercitus Anglicani ex transverso aquæ usque ad horam diei tertiam expectabant. Post horam itaque vesperarum equites quasi numero ducenti præfati fluminis vadium, ubi pons erat antiquitus, prope mare transierunt, et villam de Berewyk adierunt: hocque comperto Willelmus dominus de Monte-

Hostilities renewed, July 11.

[1] *condictum*] conductum, C.

acuto cum ducentis equitibus villam ex parte maris circuierunt usque ad portum versus mare, ubi cum Scotis congressus est; nondum enim omnes villam tunc temporis sunt ingressi: quorum quidam capiebantur, pluribus interfectis; ceteri per viam qua venerant fugere sunt compulsi. Ex quibus improvide vadum repetentibus aliqui mergebantur. Inter quos Willelmus de Setone filius Alexandri de Setone prædicti est demersus. Eademque nocte Scotorum exercitus fines Angliæ boreales invasit, et per tres dies et noctes Scoti sunt dispersi, patrias spoliantes et incendentes nec ordini nec loco vel sexui pepercerunt, æstimantes Anglicos ab obsidione revocare. Sed propter hoc rex Angliæ cœptis desistere noluit; nam in crastino, transactis induciis supradictis, villam et castrum juxta condictum prænotatum petiit sibi reddi. Hostes vero respondentes dixerunt villam hesterna die fuisse refugatam. Negaverunt Anglici, dicentes villam de tantorum hominum accessu honeratam magis quam refugatam. Illis sic altercantibus, jussit dominus rex unum de obsidibus jam suspendi. Admirantes hostes tam sævam sententiam a facie regis egressam, timuerunt sibi ne ceteri suspenderentur; unde regis clementiam humiliter petierunt. Quare Willelmus de Kethe miles dixit se potestatem de suis proceribus habere cum Anglicis iterum componere et tractare, et petiit inducias usque diem Lunæ proxime subsequentem, ita quod illo die inter solis ortum et occasum, super campi planitiem inter fluvium de Twede et oceanum, equites ducenti deberent ingredi villam de Berewyk, absque interitu vel captione decem hominum prædictorum, et ex hoc haberetur villa optime refugata. Et ad hujusmodi pacti confirmationem sex obsides denuo tradiderunt. Annuit rex Angliæ, facta super hiis indentura. Hæc itaque præsumptuosa propositio bellum prænunciavit et intulit manifeste; et continuo Willelmus de Kethe prædictus duces suos apud More-

A.D. 1333. July 11. Failure of the attempt to succour Berwick.

The Scots attempt a diversion.

Edward demands the surrender.

He orders one of the hostages to be hanged.

Another proposal of relief, if two hundred men can force their way into the town on the Monday following with loss of less than ten.

A.D. 1333. July. William Kethe recalls the Scots to relieve Berwick.

pathe Angliam devastantes adiit, hujusmodi pactum nuntiare; quibus et dixit, nisi per ipsos obsessis subventum fuerit, desolatio immo destructio regni Scotiæ sequeretur: et adjecit, quod nisi prædictam conventionem voluerint affirmare, villam sæpedictam cum castro domino regi Angliæ redderet absque mora. Illi vero negotium expositum ratum habentes ad Scotiam redierunt, et præfixo die cum Anglicis confligere statuerunt.

Preparations for battle.

De bello de Halyndoun Hille.

July 19. Battle of Halydown hill.

Edward's army and division of his forces.

Eodem anno, mensis Julii die xix°, feria proxima ante festum Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, quæ fuit dies Lunæ præfixus, rex Angliæ campum petiit, suum exercitum instructurus. Et primo constituit unam turmam quingentorum armatorum circa villam, adjunctis sagittariis et peditibus, ut egressum obsessis civibus abnegarent, ne a tergo venientes incursione furtiva Anglicis infestarent; cui præfuerunt Radulfus Basset, Thomas de Fournivalle baneretti, Symon Warde et Johannes de Multone milites, ac etiam major villæ Novi Castri. Reliquum vero exercitum in tres cuneos tunc divisit. Quorum [primum] marscallo fratrique suo Johanni de Eltham comiti Cornubiæ, Henrico de Beaumount comiti de Boghan, et Edwardo de Boun gerenti vices comitis Herfordiæ, commendavit. Comes de Asceele David huic turmæ alam a dextris versus mare, et comes de Angos Gilbertus de Unfravilla aliam a læva similiter faciebat. Secundam vero aciem ipse rex Angliæ hinc inde, ut superius, alis compositis; tertiam quoque turmam regi Scotiæ Balliolensi, alis ut superius dispositis, ut instrueret, assignavit. Sagittarii alis singulis deputantur; et quia principalis et præsumptuosa causa instantis certaminis erat quod equites ducenti, ut præmittitur, villam deberent ingredi illo die, constituit rex totidem electos equites

ut mutuo. confligerent et illorum aditum impedirent. Discurrunt interim exploratores, et circa horam diei nonam adventus hostium nuntiatur. Ascenso itaque dextrario, dominus rex suos verbis affabilibus animavit; "Considerate, commilitones mei, cum quibus gen- "tibus dimicaturi sumus isto die. Diu est quod pro- "genitoribus nostris rebelles extiterunt. Piget itaque "referre plebis et religiosorum subversiones et strages "quas nostro generi pluries intulerunt. Jam, Deo pro- "pitio, dies instat ultionis, nec illorum multitudinem "timeatis, quia de Domini præsidio confidentes vobis- "cum pares erimus in conflictu." Hiis dictis, equo desiliens in suo cuneo se locavit; nec mora! ecce Scotorum exercitus numero quasi lx. milia, quendam monticulum, Halyndounhill vocatum, non longe a sæpe dicta villa distantem ascendunt, equis inter arbusta trans collem dimissis; in cujus vertice totalis illa multitudo in tres cuneos est divisa; inter quos Archebaldus de Douglas, custos Scotiæ deputatus, aspiciens ducentos equites prædictos non longe ab Anglorum exercitu delitantes, fertur talia protulisse: "Confortamini, "fratres, et arma sumite cum vigore; ecce! duces "hostium nostrorum equites sunt effecti, ut ceteris "nobis in prædam dimissis fugæ præsidium melius "consequantur. Nunc alia fortuna tanquam inclusos "illos in nostris finibus huc adduxit, hinc, siquidem "a tergo, villam optimam viris bellicosis munitam; "a dextris vero pelagum spatiosum et altum, a sinistris "autem alveum fluminis de Twede cujus intumescens "mare riparum marginem jam implevit. Igitur [animos] "resumite et manus ad cædendum extendite, nec cui- "quam redemptio concedatur, sed principes et pedites "pariter pereant isto die." Et Anglici equos insidentes, perpendentes turmas hostium ad bellum accedere, incedendo dimissis equis in suo cuneo quilibet se locavit. Et continuo agmen unum hostium in illam catervam quam rex Scotiæ dirigebat audacter

A.D. 1333. July 19. The king's speech to his troops.

Speech of Archibald Douglas, guardian of Scotland.

The onset.

A.D. 1333. July 19. Victory of Halydown hill.

irruit ad pugnandum. Similiter et alius Scotorum cuneus ad agmen regium se collisit. Sed nec sagittarum copiam nec arma militum sufferentes, in fugam citius dissolvuntur, moxque Scotorum sequitur magna cædes. Nam rex Angliæ et alii proceres cum suis equitibus hostes huc et illuc discurrentes insequi statuerunt. Sed Scotorum turma in qua optimi milites ponebantur, qui villam, [ut] præmittitur, ingredi debuissent, in primariam aciem Anglorum ferocitate irruit leonina. Factaque est ibidem cruenta pugna. Decertant namque Scoti villam petere et pactum quod præmittitur perficere cupientes; e contra Anglici viriliter resistebant. Sicque, maxima parte diei emensa, prævalentibus Anglicis, favente Domino, victoria jam provenit. In isto siquidem conflictu diuturno ceciderunt equites quingenti de robustissimis et electis totius gentis Scotianæ, in loco ab illius terræ incolis Hevyside nuncupato. Per septem itaque leucas fugientium fugatio facta fuit, donec nox superveniens Anglicos redire et tentoria petere compellebat. In crastino habitatores villam et castrum regi Angliæ reddiderunt. In isto siquidem prælio vii. comites, xxv. baneretti, xlvii. milites Scoti cæsi referuntur, præter illos qui versus mare semetipsos ab alto præcipitabant. Pauci capiebantur; sed et plurimi evaserunt. Corpora comitum et majorum in locis dedicatis rex Angliæ statuit sepelire. In tanta siquidem cæde nisi miles unus et armiger unus de exercitu Anglicano, et pauci pedites ceciderunt.

Great slaughter.

Berwick surrendered, July 20.

Small loss of the English.

Edward's letter to archbishop Melton.

Hiis igitur expletis et hostibus, favente Domino, triumphatis, rex Angliæ direxit hanc epistolam archiepiscopo Eboracensi Willelmo de Meletone in hæc verba:—

" Edwardus,[1] Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, et " dux Aquitanniæ, venerabili in Christo patri Willelmo eadem

[1] The corresponding letter to the archbishop of Canterbury is printed in the Fœdera, ii. 866.

"gratia archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Angliæ primati, salutem. A.D. 1333. July 22. Edward announces his victory to the archbishop of York.
"Sedens in throno gloriæ Qui Sui dispositione non fallitur,
"dilectos suos in opportunitatibus visitat uberius quam crea-
"turæ rationis intentio sciat aut valeat invenire. Ipse quidem
"dominantium Dominus, misericordiam suam nobiscum licet
"immerito magnifice mirificans, hiis diebus funestam Scotorum
"inimicorum nostrorum rabiem et ipsorum perfidam feritatem,
"qui partes regni nostri boreales, nuper coadunatis viribus, hos-
"tiliter invadentes, deprædationes, strages, incendia, necnon
"et alia mala quæ poterant crudeliter perpetrarunt, ordini,
"ætati et sexui non parcentes; et demum contra nos et
"exercitum nostrum prope Berewycum, die Lunæ proxime
"ante festum Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis proxime præterito,
"videlicet xix° die mensis Julii, indurante spiritu superbiæ
"et antiquæ suæ malitiæ, ad prælium se parantes, virtutis
"suæ potestate mirabiliter dissipavit, ipsos in manu nostra
"victorioso præsidio concludendo; quos in Eo Qui dat salutem
"regibus, ac de jure nostro confidentes, in timore Domini,
"licet in perditione hominum non lætemur, in campo certa-
"minis devicimus, absque læsione magna, laudetur Altissimus,
"gentis nostræ, castrum ac villam Berwici nobis redditam
"favente Domino jam habemus. De quibus gratiarum om-
"nium Largitori laudes exsolvimus, ut possumus, humiles et
"devotas, ineffabilem ipsius clementiam implorantes, ut sig-
"num quod nobiscum fecit in bono incrementis faciat felicibus
"fœcundare pacis, firmando misericorditer opem conceptam
"quæ vobis, ad vestri recreationem et publicam regni læti-
"tiam, divina contemplando magnalia, nuntiamus. Et, quia
"inter cetera humanæ reparationis remedia humilem apud
"Deum orationis instantiam divinæ gratiæ credimus multi-
"pliciter affluentiam excitare, paternitatem vestram affectuose
"requirimus et rogamus, quatinus Salvatoris nostri clemen-
"tiam, pro concessa nobis cælitus victoria, devotis laudibus
"attollatis et a vestris subditis faciatis, ut convenit, devotione
"celebri venerari; ipsos salutaribus monitis inducentes, ut He asks for prayers.
"intentis orationum suffragiis nos miserationi divinæ sedulo
"recommendent, recommendare velitis vosmet ipsi, quod com-
"missum nobis regimen ad Dei beneplacitum, defensionem
"ecclesiæ, regni honorem, commodum et quietem, conserva-
"tionem et augmentum, ac redintegrationem jurium nostrorum
"regalium, ac nostri et subditorum nostrorum salutem ani-
"marum, agere, et in justitia roborari nostris temporibus,

A.D. 1333. July 22. "feliciter valeamus. Teste me ipso apud Berewicum super "Twedam, xxii° die Julii, anno regni nostri vii°."

Robert of Graystanes elected to Durham. Item eodem anno, circa festum Sancti Michaelis, Lodowycus de Beaumount, episcopus Dunelmensis, in fata decessit, et dominus Robertus de Grastanes, sacræ theologiæ professor, ejusdem ecclesiæ monachus, in episcopum Dunelmensem est electus.

He is consecrated Nov. 14, in the palace at York. Item eodem anno, xviii° kalendas Decembris, dominus Willelmus de Meletone, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, in capella palatii archiepiscopi apud Eboracum, propter interdictum et suspensionem per dominum papam Johannem XXII. in ecclesiam cathedralem Eboracensem et canonicos ejusdem illatam, magistrum Robertum de Grastanes prædictum, sacræ paginæ professorem, electum capituli Dunelmensis, præsentibus episcopis Karliolensi et Armaghensi, in Dunelmensem episcopum consecravit.

A.D. 1334. Richard of Bury consecrated, and Graystanes set aside. Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°IIII°., regni vero regis Edwardi viii°, septimo die mensis Junii, dominus Ricardus de Buri, clericus domini regis, per papam Johannem XXII. ad instantiam regis a Wyntoniensi,[1] in episcopum Dunelmensem est consecratus. Prædictus vero magister Robertus de Grastanes ab officio pontificatus est repulsus, quia papa episcopatus Angliæ vacantes sibi primitus reservavit. June 19. Edward Balliol does homage. Item xix° die mensis ejusdem, videlicet in festo Sanctorum Gervasii et Prothasii, apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, præsentibus regni proceribus, Edwardus de Balliolo rex Scotiæ fecit homagium et fidelitatem domino suo regi Angliæ prædicto pro regno Scotiæ in verbis Gallicis quæ sequuntur:—[2]

"Jeo Edwarde, par la grace de Dieu roi Desçoce et "des Isles apurtenante, devynk vostre homme lige

[1] *a Wyntoniensi*] Anymo', C. Bury was consecrated on the 13th of December, 1333; he was inthroned on the 5th of June.

[2] See Hemingburgh, ii. 309; A. Murimuth, p. 75; Chron. Lanercost, p. 277; Cf. Fœd. ii. 847.

"pur les ditz roialme et isles contre toutes gentz qe "porrount vivre ou morir. Nous serroms feial et loial, "et foi et loiaute porteroms a vous nostre treschere "seigneur, roi d'Engleterre, et a vous heres come "soverein seigneur des ditz roialme d'Escoce et Isles "countre toutz genz qe pourront vivre ou morir"; et li roy le receut. A.D. 1334. June 19.

Et statim rex Scotiæ prædictus dedit domino suo regi Angliæ et heredibus suis fere totam cis mare Scotiæ, incipiendo apud Berewycum, cum castris, villis, monasteriis religiosorum et forestis; factis super hoc munimentis. Hiis completis rex Angliæ versus Londonias, et rex Scotiæ cum suis versus Scotiam, sunt profecti. He surrenders southern Scotland to Edward.

Secunda expulsio Edwardi de Balliolo de regno Scotiæ.

Item eodem anno, die Sancti Bartholomæi apostoli, Henricus de Beamount comes de Boghan et comes de Astecle, terras suas in comitatu de Boghan visitare volentes, a rege Scotiæ prædicto, apud Strivelyn perhendinante et dissentiente, recesserunt; et statim conglobati Scoti regem Scotiæ præfatum persequi statuerunt. Quem prodidit Alexander Moubray miles ejusdem nationis; cujus et equos, thesaurum et omne supellectile regium rapiebant. Ipse vero rex proditionem prædictam satagens declinare, versus Berewycum iter suum dirigebat, et cum Scotis in itinerando conflixit, et fugavit, ac postea prospere adiit Berewycum. Dum itaque Ricardus Thalbot, Johannes de Strivelyn, et Johannes de Feltone milites, qui cum comitibus de Boghan et Astecle prædictis in interiores partes Scotiæ processerunt, perpendentes populum ad ipsos expugnandum undique convolare, versus Angliam sunt reversi. Sed juxta Lynliscou per Willelmum de Kethe et Godefridum de Ros capiebantur et in castro de Donbretaggne custodiæ deputantur, familia sua et sagittariis interfectis. Aug. 24. The Scots again attack Balliol. He flies to Berwick. His partizans intercepted by the Scots and imprisoned at Dumbarton.

A.D. 1334. August. Comes vero de Ascetle cum paucis admodum Anglicis capiebatur, ipsoque retento Anglici repatriare permittuntur. Et perpendentes proceres Scotiæ fortunam

Henry de Beaumont besieged in Dundarge. sibi taliter arridere, Henricum de Beaumont comitem de Boghan prædictum cum suis utriusque sexus numero quasi ccc. in castro suo de Dondarg adunatis viribus obsederunt; unde præsumitur quod, si rex Scotiæ et ceteri domini prænotati dispersi non fuissent, non in manus hostium taliter incidissent; quia juxta philosphum omnis virtus unita fortior est se

Balliol asks aid of Edward. ipsa dispersa. Quo audito, rex Scotiæ malis Scotiæ undique perturbatus, misit Thomam Ughtrede militem domino suo regi Angliæ nuntiaturum qualiter, fracto fidelitatis homagii juramento sibi præstito, Scoti in ipsum hostiliter irruerunt, humiliter supplicando quatinus remedium apponere dignaretur. Igitur rex Angliæ, perjuris Scotis et eorum malitiæ volens obviare, contra festum Omnium Sanctorum apud Novum Castrum super Tynam per dies aliquot expectabat, donec

Edward winters at Roxburgh. adunato exercitu usque Rokesburgho est profectus; villam et castrum reædificari et muniri fecit, et ibidem cum suis copiis hyemavit.

November. Long frost. Eodem anno, circa festum Sancti Martini in hieme, incipiebat gelu, nix et grando, et durabant continue per quatuor menses proxime subsequentes. Et in vigilia

Great storm. Sancti Andreæ apostoli circa mediam noctem videbantur fulgura et coruscationes, audiebantur tonitrua valde terribilia apud nos. Et in eadem vigilia circa horam diei tertiam facta est tanta tempestas universalis nivis et venti de Favonio flantis, et duravit per totum illum diem, quod nullus dies de tali poterat reminisci. No-

The new nave of Whitby church blown down. vam namque fabricam navis ecclesiæ beati Petri et Sanctæ Hildæ de Whitby usque ad suppositionem in . . . præter summitatem cabuli consummatam, videlicet columpnas infra muros exteriores et totum opus super positum concussit solotenus et prostravit. Similiter plures ecclesias et domos varias per Angliam et in regionibus aliis dissipavit.

Item eodem anno in crastino Epiphaniæ Domini, quidam proditor Thomas Pyngel cum ducentis Scotis equitibus Ridesdale est ingressus, patriam spolians ac prædam non modicam diversi generis animalium adunavit. Sed hoc in exercitu Anglicano divulgato, comes Cornubiæ, domini de Percy et de Novavilla, redeuntibus Scotis juxta cujusdam fluminis vadum obviabant, et impetum in eos facientes, paucis admodum evasis, capitaneus et ceteri perimuntur.

A.D. 1335. Jan. 7. Scottish inroad into Redesdale.

Defeated by the earl of Cornwall.

Item eodem anno, mensis Februarii die xviiio, equitibus et sagittariis in Rokesburghe et Berewyk dimissis, regeque Scotiæ ad eorum munimen et præsidium in Karliolo commorante deputato, rex Angliæ accersitis archiepiscopo Eboracensi, episcopo Dunelmensi, comite Cornubiæ et quibusdam aliis regni proceribus, apud Novum Castrum super Tynam cum legatis regis Franciæ colloquium habuit et tractatum; et fuit summa totius negotii ex parte regis Franciæ tunc prolati, quod rex Angliæ cœptis desisteret, nec amodo Scotiam expugnaret. Et ad hoc statuit rex Angliæ per legatos proprios respondere. Ibique innotuit domino regi Angliæ qualiter Henricus de Beaumont comes de Boghan reddit Scotis castrum de Dondarge, in quo fuerat obsessus, facta super hoc indentura, videlicet quod præfatus comes de Boghan et comitissa conjux sua cum familia competenti militum, clericorum, mulierum generosarum, et aliorum officiariorum, sibi necessariorum, moram facient in custodia domini Andreæ de Murref, Alexandri de Moubray et Roberti de Lowther, donec prædictus dominus comes Henricus mittat nuntios speciales domino regi Angliæ pro pace perpetua inter regna Angliæ reformanda; reliquam vero familiam utriusque sexus, repatriare cupientem, in salvo conductu deducere facient dicti domini versus Angliam, usque ad limites regni sui; et si forte noluerit rex Angliæ hujusmodi paci perpetuæ consentire, prædicti domini Andreas, Alexander et Robertus prædictum

Feb. 18. Edward has an interview with French ambassadors, who urge him to give up the war.

Surrender of Dundarge.

Terms of surrender, and proposal of perpetual peace.

A.D. 1335. February. comitem cum suis omnibus usque Berewycum vel alibi quo voluerit sub fida custodia sanum conducere facient atque salvum, sicut plenius continetur in indenturis in alio loco inter incidentia. Item eodem anno ante carnisprivium, circa festum Sancti Mathiæ apostoli, in villa Sancti Johannis, Rokesburghe, Edenburghe, Berewyk et Karlioli, armatorum et sagittariorum copia non modica ad eorum custodiam deputata, dominus rex Angliæ cum comitibus de Warwyk, Lincolniæ, et aliis proceribus festinanter et subito de partibus borealibus versus Londonias est profectus, ex causa valde necessaria pro suis liberis protegendis et tuendis; de quorum prosperitate juxta relationem sibi factam plurimum hæsitabat.

The king returns to London.

May 26. Parliament at York.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXXV°, et regni regis Angliæ IX°. In crastino Ascensionis Domini, convocatis regni proceribus, rex apud Eboracum tenuit parliamentum,[1] in quo debellare Scotiam decrevit. Et in hebdomada Pentecostes iter arripiunt usque Novum Castrum; et exercitu adunato juxta Karliolum Scotiam intraverunt. Et propter exercitus multitudinem rex Angliæ versus occidentem et rex Scotia versus orientem iter suum dirigunt, patrias incendentes. Rex igitur Scotiæ, die Veneris proxima ante Gulam Augusti, venit ad quoddam castrum Cumbernolde nuncupatum, in quo equites CC^ti et multæ mulieres generosæ sunt reperti; Scoti vero de se præsumentes et de muris proclamantes Anglicis improperabant, quos statim Anglici eo acrius insultabant. Et, illis deintus strenue resistentibus, Anglici per fenestras turris inferiores ignem domibus supponentes de superioribus gradibus subfumigatos hostes descendere coegerunt. Et sic tandem, vi castro devicto, Willelmus Marscallus miles et quidam scu-

July. Invasion of Scotland.

July 28. Cumbernauld castle taken.

[1] The parliament sat, May 26—June 3: the king was at Newcastle on the 18th of June, and also on the 3rd of July: on the 6th of July he was at Carlisle.

tarius castri constabularius, necnon quædam mulieres reservantur, ceteris omnibus interfectis. Item, die Dominica proxime sequenti, comes de Nemurco regi Angliæ de partibus transmarinis veniens in subsidium guerræ suæ cum cxl. equitibus Anglicis et Gallicis, cc. hobellariis et sagittariis, exiit de Berewyco, æstimans regem Angliæ apud Edenburghe reperiri. Et ecce comes de Murref, comes Patricius, et alii majores Scotiæ cum x. milibus equitum et peditum, locum latibulis aptum ingressi, secus viam quam ipsos ituros arbitrabantur, illorum adventum expectantes latuerunt. Et cum jam ad locum memoratum accederent, nescii quos dolos hostes versuti paraverunt, egressi Scoti in illos irruunt, nil tale præmeditantes, undique lacerantes: at illi, etsi fraudulenter fuerant circumventi, viriliter resistebant. Et ceciderunt utrobique plurimi vulnerati, sed pejus Anglicis fortuna tunc temporis ministrabat, quia illorum paucitas per Scotorum multitudinem nimium exstitit onerata. Tandem comes de Nemurco, et qui secum superfuerant, impetum hostium ferre diutius non valentes, Turrim de Edinburghe conscenderunt, sed non habentes Anglici, et qui cum comite erant, unde sitis fervorem exstinguere potuerunt, redemptioni quatuor milium marcarum se continuo reddiderunt. Willelmo igitur Daubenay milite et aliis obsidibus dimissis, comes de Murref cum mille et ducentis equitibus prædictum comitem de Nemurco et suos superstites versus Berewycum usque Norham et ulterius conducebat. Quos cum dimisissent et redierunt, obvios habuerunt Willelmum de Pressefen et Michaelem fratrem ejus, custodes castri de Rokesburghe, cum ducentis equitibus et peditibus ad deprædandum proficiscentes; qui et nihil de facto quod præscribitur audierunt. Et statim facta est congressio valde dira, sed Scoti continuo fugierunt, et insequentes Anglici cædem non modicam faciebant. In isto siquidem conflictu plusquam quadringenti equites Scotorum et pedites ceciderunt. Comes itaque de

A.D. 1335.
July 30.
Arrival of the count of Namur.

He is surprised and overcome by the Scots.

He surrenders, promises ransom, and is conducted to Norham.

His escort, on their return, overwhelmed by the English.

A.D. 1335. August. Prisoners taken.

Murref, et Henricus Prendergest miles, cum non multis aliis capiebantur, et carcerali custodiæ committuntur, et sic obsides pro redemptione comitis de Nemurco et suorum cum hostibus dimissi absque solutione liberantur. Item circa festum Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, duo naves de Germue ceperunt quandam navem magnam de Scotia cum apparatu bellico, in qua fuerunt centum et lx. homines armati præter nautas tali vasi convenientes; in qua etiam inveniebatur episcopus Glasgensis, qui nimio dolore vexatus, antequam applicuit, expiravit. Ceterorum vero nullus evasit, quin gratis se ipsos submergebant ac tamen etiam fuerant interfecti.

Two ships of Yarmouth capture a Scottish ship.

Fate of the armed men in it.

Aug. 18. Submission of the earl of Athol.

Regibus igitur Angliæ et Scotiæ apud villam Sancti Johannis in Scotia perhendinantibus, xviii° die Augusti, facta fuit reconciliatio[1] comitis de Ascetle, qui postquam captus fuit Scotis adhæsit, et cum eisdem contra regis Angliæ et Scotiæ conspiravit. Similiter et aliqui magnates, qui de regis fidelitate recesserunt, pacificantur cum eodem. Modus vero reconciliationis fere omnibus magnatibus Angliæ omnino displicuit; cujus copia in alio libro in verbis Gallicis annotatur. Item, xx° die mensis Augusti, nuntii regis Franciæ quandam epistolam in verbis Gallicis regi Angliæ tradiderunt; cujus copia sequitur consequenter:—

Aug. 20. Letter of the king of France to Edward.

" Cognate charissime, nosti qualiter, ex auctoritate summi " pontificis et voluntate, tanquam capitaneus suscepimus pas- " sagium Terræ Sanctæ, in quo tuam præsentiam plurimum " affectamus, sicut hiis nunciis sæpius fati sumus, ac etiam " omnes contumelias et dissensiones quæ præfatum passagium " poterunt impedire totis viribus volumus annullare. Misi- " musque tibi dilectos et fideles consiliarios nostros epi- " scopum Aneriensem et Petrum de Tichel[2] militem, ut tan- " dem tibi placuisset quod de discordia inter te et David

[1] *reconciliatio*] See the terms of the agreement in Knighton, c. 2566, and, in full, in Robert of Avesbury, de Hearne, pp. 24, sq.

[2] The envoys are called " epi- " scopus Ebricensis " and " Petrus " de Tierzlieu," in the Fœdera, ii. 903, 904, 913.

A.D. 1335. July 7. Letter of Philip of Valois to Edward III. announcing that he is bound to assist the Scots.

" regem Scotiæ suscitata possemus ordinare; et rescripsisti " nobis quod nondum tibi taliter est consultum propter cer- " tas causas nobis per tuos nuntios ostendendas; qui non ad " hæc nostris aspectibus paruerunt. Ad hoc cum commu- " nitas et habitatores terræ Scotiæ nobis sæpius supplicas- " sent, ac continue cum instantia magna et diligentia sup- " plicant et requirunt, quatinus propter certas alligationes " inter charissimum dominum Carolum regem Franciæ, cog- " natum et prædecessorem nostrum, avunculum tuum, cujus " animæ propitietur Deus, et prædecessorem et patrem præ- " dicti David et habitatores regni Scotiæ factas, prout qui- " busdam de tuis apud nos existentibus patefecimus mani- " feste, vellemus juxta tenorem alligationum prædictarum " eis facere subsidium et solamen; quod quidem propter " honorem nostrum et magnitudinem rationis differre non " possumus nec negare. Ideoque fatemur quod eisdem pro- " misimus subvenire, eo quod per prædecessorem nostrum " prædictum et [avunculum] tuum ligati et obligati fuimus, " ut superius est ostensum; unde pro bono pacis et con- " cordiæ fecimus nostrum grande consilium tibi confidere " viam istam, ut placeat tibi quod sanctissimus pater et " nos possimus de prædictis discordiis ordinare. Et credi- " mus quod ista via proficiet passagio prælibato, tibi et " regno tuo, et honorabilis atque bona; et ideo tibi, cog- " nate charissime, supplicamus quatinus huic viæ concor- " dare velis efficaciter et assentire, quam si volueris accep- " tare, nobisque tuam rescribere voluntatem, firmum et stabile " faciemus, intentione tua scita, quod idem David faceret si " personaliter interesset. Custodiat te Dominus. Scriptum " apud Thaverniacum [1] vii° die Julii."

He proposes that the pope should arbitrate.

Responsio Regis Angliæ.

Answer of Edward III., dated August 22 at Perth.

"Charissime domine et cognate, litteras vestras apud " villam Sancti Johannis in Scotia, xx^{mo} die mensis Au- " gusti, recepimus, continentes quod de summi pontificis " auctoritate passagium Terræ Sanctæ tanquam capitaneus " suscepistis, in quo nostram cupitis comitivam, et omnes " dissensiones velletis libentissime repellere, quæ possunt " præfatum sanctum passagium impedire; necnon qualiter " nuntii David et habitatorum regni Scotiæ vobis supplica-

[1] *Thaverniacum*] Thamyn, MS. But see Will. Naug., D'Ach. Spicileg. iii. 98.

A.D. 1335. Aug. 22. Acknowledgment of receipt.

"runt et instanter supplicant et requirunt, quod ratione "alligationum per Carolum regem Franciæ prædecessorem "vestrum et avunculum nostrum prædecessori et patri præ-"fati David, ac etiam communitati et habitatoribus regni "Scotiæ supradicti factarum, velletis eisdem subvenire juxta "alligationis tenorem prædictæ, quod renuere non valetis "propter honorem vestrum et multiplicem rationem. Ideo-"que spopondistis eisdem facere subsidium et levamen. "Similiter quod vos ad depellendum omnes dissensiones "quæ prædictum passagium poterunt retardare, ac pro bono "pacis et concordiæ, fecistis grande consilium vestrum nobis "confidere viam istam, videlicet, quod sanctissimus pater et "vos possetis super prædictis discordiis ordinare, supplicas-"tisque nobis ut ad istam viam dignaremur etiam consen-"tire. Charissime nepos et domine, quoad primum placeat "vobis scire quod per immensos labores et pœnas non mo-"dicas inter nos et habitatores Scotiæ pacem fecimus stabi-"lire, quæ favente Domino erit taliter observata quod propter "dissensiones inter regna prælibata passagium Terræ Sanctæ "erit nullatenus impeditum. Quoad secundum, videlicet, "quod per causam alligationum prædictarum ipsi David et "habitatoribus Scotiæ subsidium spopondistis, nobis videtur "quod, habendo respectum ad antiquas alligationes inter "reges Angliæ et Franciæ per affinitatem et proximitatem "sanguinis, ac etiam propter homagium nostrum vobis fac-"tum, plus nobis tenemini subvenire quam aliis qui sunt "vobis extranei et remoti. Et, nepos dilectissime, quoad "tertium, videlicet, quod debemus consentire quod sanctissi-"mus pater et vos possetis super contentionibus prædictis "et contumeliis ordinare, placeat vobis scire quod, benedic-"tus Altissimus, dissensiones prædictæ pacificantur, ut supe-"rius est expressum; tanguntque coronam nostram et jura "specialiter regni nostri, quæ quidem ordinationi vel decreto "cujuscunque submittere nolumus nec valemus; quia pro-"ceres et communitas regni nostri per statuta et leges an-"tiquitus usitatas ad id nolunt aliqualiter consentire. Cha-"rissime nepos et domine, in omnibus quæ vos tangunt "parati semper erimus per rationem vobis facere quod de-"bemus. Datum sub sigillo nostro privato apud villam "Sancti Johannis in Scotia, xxii° die Augusti."[1]

His answer in detail.

He refuses to submit to the pope's judgment.

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[1] I have not found the French originals of either of the two letters given above; but they are referred to by Knighton, c. 2567.

Item eodem anno post festum Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ Virginis comes de Astecle, regibus Angliæ et Scotiæ ut præmittitur pacificatus, quorundam majorum Scotiæ a rege Angliæ reconciliationem impetravit, exceptis duntaxat comite Patricio, Andrea de Murref seneschallo Scotiæ, et Willelmo de Douglas, qui nondum regis gratiam sunt adepti. Comes namque Patricius, immemor fidelitatis juramenti post bellum de Halyndonhylle regi Angliæ apud Berewicum præstiti, cui tunc temporis idem rex ut eum alliceret bona pro malis reddens ccc. libras argenti contulit gratiose, guerram contra Anglicos denuo suscitavit. Cujus malitiæ rex Angliæ volens obviare regem Scotiæ præfatum et alios comites et barones cum octingentis equitibus assignavit, ut partes Scotiæ transmontanas peterent, et hostes occiderent resistentes. Quibus dispositis et jussa complentibus, ac demum peragratis provinciis, et usque Berewicum reversus, rex diversas custodias diversis dominis assignavit, regeque Scotiæ apud Aukelande perhendinante profectus est rex Angliæ usque austrum. Nec mora; iterum Scoti conglobati, comite Patricio, Andrea de Murref, et Willelmo de Douglas ducibus constitutis, comitem de Ascetle, quem exosum habebant eo quod familiaritati regis Angliæ, ut prædicitur, jam rediit, in vigilia Sancti Andreæ ceperunt, ipsumque quatuor milites occiderunt. Hoc comperto rex Angliæ statuit Scotiam denuo debellare, et adunatis regni proceribus in manu forti Berewicum adiit, ubi versuti Scoti iterum regis clementiam sunt adepti.

A.D. 1335. August. The earl of Athol procures the submission of the Scottish lords, except earl Patrick, Murray and Douglas, who renew the war.

Edward sends a force, and then turns southwards.

The Scottish lords kill the earl of Athol, Nov. 29.

Edward returns to Berwick.

Et circa Conversionem Sancti Pauli accersitis archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et episcopis Lincolniensi, Dunelmensi et Karliolensi, cum quibusdam regni majoribus, pax fuit iterum reformata inter regna. Et exinde parliamentum suum statuit Londoniis tenendum in Quadragesima proxime sequenti; ad quos Scoti promiserunt accedere et pacem reformatam omni juris robore confirmare. Rege igitur Londonias reverso,

A.D. 1336. Jan. 25. Peace made.

A.D 1336. January. The Scots kill the English governors.

Scoti antiquam malitiam et spiritu superbiæ induratam ad memoriam revocantes, et tanquam canes ad vomitum revertentes, custodes et ministros quoscunque infra regnum Scotiæ per regem Angliæ constitutos infestare et trucidare in dies non cessabant.

May. Balliol moves from Berwick to Perth.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°VI°, et regni regis Edwardi X^mo^, circa festum Pentecostes, rex Scotiæ sæpedictus cum comitibus et baronibus Angliæ in manu forti apud Berewycum aliquamdiu morabatur, donec ordinato exercitu mare Scotiæ transierunt, et apud villam Sancti Johannis adventum regis exspectabant Angliæ. Iterum Flandrenses, regi Franciæ faventes, Scotis arma et alia necessaria ministrabant, cum quibus Anglici in pelago sæpius sunt congressi, cæsis plurimis utrobique. Igitur rex Angliæ circa festum Barnabæ apostoli, suos visitaturus, Scotiam adiit, et instructis exercitibus Scotos huc et illuc fugientes ad pugnam excitavit. Sed cum ipso congredi metuentes latibula petierunt. Et perpendens quod guerram prorogare maluerunt, dimissis Anglicis ibidem et ad certas custodias deputatis, in Angliam est reversus. Nec multum post Johannes de Eltham comes Cornubiæ, germanus regis, in Scotiam dimissus, viam universæ carnis est ingressus, qui postea Londoniis est sepultus. Rex itaque itinerando versus Scotiam venit Eboracum, ibique magnam summam pecuniæ decimæ triennalis, domino papæ per clerum concessæ et collectæ ac in monasterio beatæ Mariæ Eboraci ad opus summi pontificis ad reservandum positæ, cepit et in subsidium guerræ suæ statuit expendendam. Et morabatur in Scotia usque festum Sancti Nicholai confessoris. Rege Scotiæ sæpefato ibidem in manu forti dimisso, ipse rex et regina apud Haytefelde solempne festum Natalis Domini tenuerunt, ubi regina peperit filium quem Willelmus de Meletone archiepiscopus Eboracensis de sacro fonte suscepit et suo nomine nuncupavit; qui cito post obiit et in majori ecclesia beati Petri Eboraci, a parte boreali magni

June. Edward goes to Scotland, but the Scots avoid a battle; and he returns.

John of Eltham dies.

Edward uses a large sum of the pope's tenths, for the war.

He keeps Christmas at Hatfield, where a son is born.

altaris traditur sepulturæ.[1] Item eodem anno in parliamento Londoniis indicto, in Quadragesima, rex primogenitum suum Edwardum ducem Cornubiæ nominavit, eidemque ducatum dedit. Et eodem die Henricum Lancastriæ comitem Derbeiæ, Willelmum de Boun comitem Huntingdoniæ, Willelmum de Monteacuto comitem Sarisburiæ, Hugonem de Audelay comitem Gloucestriæ, Willelmum de Clynton comitem Northamptoniæ fecit, ac etiam nominavit, eisdem terras et redditus assignavit, factique sunt xii. milites ipso die.

A.D. 1337. March. The king's son made duke of Cornwall.

Creation of earls.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°VII°, regni regis xi°, decimo die Julii in concilio habito Eboraci, ordinatum fuit coram rege pro salva custodia marchiæ borealis, quod sexaginta equites electi de comitatu Eboraci comiti de Warwyk debuissent intendere, ipsoque capitaneo constituto pacis, ad proficiscendum versus Scotiam cum eodem; electi fuerunt similiter lx. sagittarii de quolibet wappentachio citra Trentam ad proficiscendum cum eodem expensis suis, de militibus et seriantibus, habentibus quadraginta solidatas terræ et supra, levatis et eisdem pro eodem itinere liberatis. Igitur custodia marchiæ Scotiæ Thomæ de Bellocampo comiti de Warwyk, ut præmittitur, deputata, rex Angliæ domino archiepiscopo Eboracensi direxit breve suum cujus tenor sequitur, in hæc verba:[2]—

July 10. Sixty knights of Yorkshire chosen to accompany the earl of Warwick to Scotland, with archers from each Wapentake.

"Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ et dux "Aquitanniæ, venerabili in Christo patri Willelmo, eadem "gratia archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Angliæ primati, salutem. "Justum est et consonum rationi ut per communia subsidia "communibus periculis occurratur; sane licet nos desiderantes "omnino habere pacem cum domino rege Franciæ, qui non"nullas terras in ducatu prædicto nobis diu detinuit et ad "hoc detinet minus juste, sibi pro optinenda restitutione

Aug. 28. Letter of the king to the archbishop of York.

[1] "V. Memor. Walt. Coventry." C. in marg.

[2] *in hæc verba*] This letter is given in the Fœdera, ii. 990, from the Close Rolls of the year.

A.D. 1337. Aug. 28. He recounts his grounds of complaint against the king of France.

" terrarum hujusmodi quicquid debuimus reverenter et humi-
" liter fecerimus, offerentes ulterius ad captandam illius bene-
" volentiam maritagia filii nostri primogeniti ducis Cornubiæ,
" claræ memoriæ Johannis comitis Cornubiæ fratris nostri
" tunc viventis, et sororis nostræ charissimæ jam comitissæ
" Gerliæ; pecuniam etiam pro suo libito et alia quæ in sce-
" dula hiis inclusa plenius annotantur; ipse tamen, hiis omni-
" bus obauditis, machinans nos et nostros omnino deprimere,
" ut usurpata super nos possit retinere liberius, et sibi facilius
" attrahere residuum quod habemus, movet nobis guerram
" fortissimam tam in terra quam in mari, nolens nec paci nec
" pacis tractatui consentire; propter quod, ad reprimendum
" ipsius et Scotorum et aliorum inimicorum nostrorum mali-
" tiam, oportet pro defensione ecclesiæ et terrarum nostro
" regimini subditarum nos opponere manu forti, quæ quidem
" defensio tantum requirit profluvium expensarum quod sine
" magno fidelium nostrorum præsidio illas non possumus sup-
" portare. Quamobrem amorem gratum et bene dispositum
" quem ad nostri conservationem honoris et defensionem ec-
" clesiæ et prædictarum terrarum confidimus vos habere, ex
" corde rogamus quatinus, ponderatis debito quantis periculis
" nos et nostri subicimur in hac parte, prælatos et clerum
" vestræ diocesis, tam exemptos quam non exemptos, apud
" Eboracum die Mercurii proximo post festum Nativitatis
" beatæ Mariæ proxime futurum, citius quo poteritis con-
" vocare faciatis. Ita quod prælati, decani, abbates, priores,
" archidiaconi, rectores ecclesiarum, et alii beneficiati quos
" expedire videritis, personaliter tunc compareant coram vo-
" bis; coram quibus singula contenta in dicta cedula et alia
" quæ movere poterunt, clare et publice faciatis exponi;
" inducentes eosdem ut quilibet in alleviationem expensarum
" hujusmodi nobis, prout facultates se permiserint, talem sub-
" ventionem faciat qualem tanta necessitas jam exposcit; re-
" scribentes nobis cum omni celeritate quid et quantum vos et
" alii singuli nobis duxeritis concedendum: ad hoc faciatis
" dictam cedulam in singulis ecclesiis dictæ diocesis et locis
" aliis quibus expedire videritis, diebus solempnibus et festivis
" quando major aderit populi multitudo, publicari patenter et
" exponi, ut fideles nostri, super hiis informati, nobis libentius
" temporaliter subveniant et pro nobis apud Deum votivis
" precibus intercedant, ad quod monitis efficacibus excitetis;
" taliter super hiis vos habentes quod vestram debeamus

He directs him to summon a convocation of the clergy of his province on Sept. 10, to grant an aid.

"gratitudinem merito commendare. Teste me ipso apud "Westmonasterium xxviii^o [1] die Augusti anno regni nostri "undecimo." A.D. 1337. Aug. 28.

Cedula inclusa litteris antescriptis in verbis Gallicis mittebatur continens quæ sequuntur:—

Schedule of the negotiations between Edward III. and the king of France.

"Primo [2] rex Angliæ per solempnes nuntios regi Franciæ "supplicavit, ut terras in ducatu Aquitaniæ per ipsum injuste "et voluntarie occupatas sibi redderet gratiose. Quorum peti-"tionibus nihil annuit, sed tandem respondit quod, si rex "Angliæ vellet se suis aspectibus personaliter præsentare, jus "sibi faceret et favorem. Sub spe promissionis supradictæ "secrete regnum Franciæ est ingressus, regique humiliter sup-"plicavit, ut sibi prædictas terras liberaret, et super hoc sibi "fecit quicquid de jure sibi facere tenebatur. Sed rex Franciæ "negotium distulit per tractatus, nec quicquam petitorum "effectui mancipavit. Hoc non obstante rex Angliæ, ipsius "benevolentiam cupiens, amicabiles vias et oblationes eidem "optulit subsequentes, videlicet,-proposita una et recusata, "aliam optulit consequenter: scilicet maritagia filii sui pri-"mogeniti cum filia ipsius regis Franciæ; item filiæ suæ "cum filio suo nunc comitissæ Gelriæ, non modico summa "pecuniæ mediante. Item fratris regis Angliæ comitis "Cornubiæ tunc viventis. Item, quia datum fuit intelligi "regi Angliæ quod rex Franciæ vellet iter carpere versus "Terram Sanctam, et ipsum habere comitem itineris affec-"tabat, et eo ipso sibi faceret gratiam et favorem, ipse rex "Angliæ, ne forte, si prædicti itineris aliquod impedimen-"tum intervenerit, sibi imputaretur, sibi annuebat iter præ-"dictum in manu forti suscipere cum eodem, dummodo tamen "plenariam dictarum terrarum restitutionem ante præfati itine-"ris inceptionem sibi faceret sine [3] fraude. Item optulit rex "Angliæ proficisci cum eodem si medietatem terrarum præ-"dictarum vel etiam ante profectionem certam sibi vellet "tradere portionem. Item spopondit proficisci cum eodem, si "post ipsorum reditum de Terra Sancta restitutionem sibi "faceret antedictam. Item ad malitiam regis Franciæ melius "evitandam, qui impedimentum itineris sæpedicti sibi voluit

[1] *xxviii^o*] The date in the Fœdera is August 21, but the letter containing the schedule sent to the archbishop of Canterbury is dated August 28; Fœdera, ii. 994.

[2] The French schedule, of which the text is an abstract, is printed in the Fœdera, ii. 994, from the Close Rolls.

[3] *sine*] super, C.

A.D. 1337. Aug. 28. Details of the negotiations between Edward III. and the king of France.

" imputare, profectionem præfatam gratanter admisit, ita quod " in suo reditu sibi faceret justitiæ complementum. Rex vero " Franciæ, qui totas terras injuste ut præmittitur occupatas " studuit retinere, necnon et alias in eodem ducatu et alibi " adjacentes vi et armis extorquere pariter satagebat, noluit " aliquam prædictarum obligationum aut viarum amicabi- " lium quomodolibet acceptare, sed quærens occasiones Scotis " regis Angliæ hostibus manifestis se convertit, eisdem subsi- " dium ministrando, ut ipsi regem Angliæ in suis ita partibus " expugnarent, quod sibi jus suum prosequi alibi non vaca- " ret. Item postmodum ad reverentiam regis Franciæ et " nuntiorum suorum requisitionem rex Angliæ treugam et " guerræ dilationem concessit Scotigenis gratiose, ut interim " inter eosdem reges tractatus pacis fieret perpetuæ reformandæ. " Quibus dependentibus hostes versuti sæpefati comitem de " Ascetle, ut præmittitur, et alios magnos regis Angliæ ligios " peremerunt, ac etiam castra et alia loca præfati regis et " suorum obsederunt pariter et ceperunt. Et nihilominus, ad " requisitionem regis Franciæ nuntiorum, treugam quatuor vel " quinque annorum præfatis Scotis annuebat, sub conditione " quod sibi facerent de dampnis et pressuris sibi et suis factis " treuga facta primitus perdurante, ita quod interim passa- " gium Terræ Sanctæ poterit ordinari. Ad quam quidem resti- " tutionem rex Franciæ noluit consentire, sed Scotos in malitia " fovebat, quibus etiam quantum potuit affuit et subvenit, " necnon guerram suscitavit contra regem Angliæ manifestam; " nam galiotas et alias naves guerrinas quas fecit sub colore " ficto præfati passagii fabricare, versus Angliam destinavit, et " captas plurimas naves Anglicanas submerserunt, necnon " partes Australes insulæ ejusdem hostiliter invaserunt, rapi- " nas, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes. Item ad hæc rex " Angliæ ex assensu et consilio procerum regni sui bellum " cupiens declinare, direxit solempnes nuntios regi Franciæ " oblaturos quicquid absque exheredatione sua potuit adim- " plere, ita ut pax fieret inter eos; ipse vero, in sua malitia " perseverans, noluit permittere prædictos nuntios suis aspec- " tibus præsentari, nec pacis aut concordiæ tractatibus consen- " tire; sed exercitum prægrandem Aquitanniam destinavit, " asserens, sed non vere, prædictum ducatum sibi fuisse foris- " factum, et sic castra et munitiones in eodem obsedit, cepit " et depopulavit. Item rex Franciæ, ad velandam suam ma- " litiam præconceptam, dominum papam et alios principes " Christianos contra regem Angliæ pertinaciter excitavit, ut " ducatum sæpedictum non tantummodo debellarent, sed ut

"omnium aliarum terrarum suarum per suas adinventiones "possent fieri conquæstores." A.D. 1337 Aug. 28.

Hiis igitur pacificis et amicabilibus viis regi Franciæ pluries propositis et oblatis, et spretis contemptibiliter per eundem, rex Angliæ perpendens exheredationem suam manifeste imminere, eo quod Francigenæ ex una parte et Scoti ex altera ipsum indies infestabant, ipsorum versutiam totis viribus reprimere disponebat, se ipsumque pro defensione ecclesiæ sanctæ et terrarum suo regimini subditarum proposuit opponere manu forti. Quæ quidem defensio tantum requirebat profluvium expensarum, quod sine magno subditorum suorum auxilio illas non potuit supportare. Quamobrem in subsidium guerræ suæ concessa est sibi per totum clerum Angliæ, de spiritualibus et temporalibus spiritualibus annexis, decima triennalis. Item pro eisdem expensis perficiendis capiebatur medietas lanarum totius Angliæ, et mittebatur ad partes transmarinas in quadringentis et quadraginta navibus, majoribus et minoribus, episcopo Lincolniensi et domino Waltero de Mannay cum septingentis equitibus custodibus et ducibus constitutis. Et circa festum Sancti Michaelis altum petentes dominus W. prædictus, cum quibusdam armatis et sagittariis, adivit quandam insulam Cageamt nuncupatam, conflixeruntque cum habitatoribus ejusdem, ceperuntque quendam militem, germanum comitis Flandriæ, pluribus aliis interfectis. Quem rex Angliæ donis plurimis decoravit et ad propria permisit postmodum remeare. Item in eadem profectione præfati domini episcopus Lincolniensis et Walterus de Mannay ceperunt omnes lanas mercatorum Angliæ apud Dordraghe inventas, ad valorem cl. milium librarum, in subsidium guerræ regis.

Edward prepares for war.

Grant of a tenth for three years and of half the wool of England.

Cadsand occupied about Michaelmas.

Seizure of the wool at Dordrecht.

Circa idem tempus innotuit nobis, quibusdam Anglicis referentibus,[1] infra regnum Franciæ a pueritia conversan-

[1] See an abridgment of this story in the Annales de Melsa, ii. 384.

A.D. 1337. A wonderful storm of wind in the neighbourhood of Paris.

tibus, de quadam ayeris imtemperie in eodem contingente. Uxor quippe regis Franciæ, scilicet filia ducis Burgundiæ, in bosco Vincenti non longe a civitate Parisius in puerperio recubuit; et suborta est tanta aeris inæqualitas quod ipse rex et duo theologi fratres ordinis Jacobini et Minorum secum ibidem tunc existentium, tanto attoniti sunt timore quod de turri in turrem se timide transtulerunt. Et vix illis egressis, quin cecidit illa turris, et quidam murus lapideus cingens turrim de suo loco per prædictæ tempestatis turbinem est avulsus, et a loco in locum per non modicum spatium corruens est translatus; cumulum etiam sive coopertorium cameræ reginæ, ubi in puerperio requievit, secum rapuit spiritus nequam; et quod sibi a Domino fuerat permissum perpetravit. Supellectile namque reginæ recubantis per aera dilaceratum sparsim in summitatibus arborum dereliquit. Et quidam miles Raginaldus de Sacins, fugiens in turbine supradicto, ab equo quo sedit raptus est et per non modicum spatium in aere vectus tandem in quodam albo spineto cecidit, ubi facies et alia sua membra fuerunt miserabiliter lacerata, ita ut clare non potuit intueri; et sic languens ad finem duorum annorum flebiliter perduravit. Et quidam filius burgensis de Pountoise, qui cum quodam amico suo filio cujusdam burgensis Parisiacæ civitatis, illuc advenerat ob solempnitatem purificationis reginæ, sicut consuetudinis est in talibus festis, hastiludiis indulgere, sublatus est cum equo suo, in præfata fugiens tempestate, et separatus ab equo supra arbores per itineris longi spatium transvectus, tandem inter ramos cujusdam arboris descendens manibus arbori adhæsit, et sicut vivus vix evasit. Quamplures similiter arbores altitudinis et magnitudinis immensæ huc et illuc prostratæ de terra radicitus sunt evulsæ.

A.D. 1338. January.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°VIII°, regni regis xii°, idem rex circa festum Sancti Hillarii, pro salva custodia

marchiæ Scotiæ ordinanda, iter suum versus Scotiam dirigebat. Et apud Berewicum perhendinanti notificatum est quod Francigenæ in armis et aliis necessariis Scotis subsidium ministrabant, et quod in classe non modica circa medium Martii tunc instantis Angliam hostiliter invadere disponebant. Sed rex Angliæ malens prævenire quam præveniri, in singulis comitatibus regni sui ad eligendum et disponendum omnes qui possent ad bella procedere equites, lancearios et sagittarios, milites deputavit, ac super littus maris custodes et vigiles ordinavit, ut, quandocunque hostes regnum invadere navigio declinarent, ad illorum vociferationem tota patria convolaret, ut in applicando hostibus obviarent. Et super hoc, habito tractatu cum majoribus atque clero, iter suum navigio ad partes exteras dirigebat, si forte per propinquos vel Francigenas alligatos apud regem Franciæ possent quascunque vias pacis et concordiæ reperire; unde de Berewico super Twedam domino Eboracensi archiepiscopo direxit quandam litteram in hæc verba:[1]—

A.D. 1338. January. The king hears that the French are assisting the Scots and preparing an invasion.

"Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ et " dux Aquitanniæ, venerabili in Christo patri Willelmo, eadem " gratia archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Angliæ primati, salutem. " Utriusque testamenti salutaribus exemplis informati, omnium " operationum humanarum directum principium, ac contra " hostium visibilium et invisibilium insidias devotam orationum " [instantiam] esse [didicimus] firmamentum. Cum itaque pro " defensione regni et jurium nostrorum, concedente Domino, " oportebat nos ad partes extraneas dirigere gressus nostros, " et quod Creatori nostro placuerit cum gratia ipsius prosequi " toto posse; vestram cordis ac mentis affectu deposcimus " caritatem, quatinus pro nostra et nostrorum profectione " contra nobis adversantes, jura nostra injuriose occupantes, " Dei dextera nos in nostra justitia dirigente effectualiter assu- " menda, apud Altissimum, sine Quo nihil est validum, et Qui " precum importunitate se asserit devincendum, preces effun-

March 28. Letter of the king to the archbishop of York.

[1] See the copy of the letter addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, in the Fœdera, ii. 1025; and that to York, ibid. p. 1026.

A.D. 1338. March 28. The king asks for the prayers of the church for his success in the war.

"dere laboretis, et tam in diocesi quam in provincia vestræ "sollicitudini decretis, per suffraganeos vestros cum congrega-"tione cleri et populi catholici, ipsum Judicem placari precibus "mandetis, Qui jura singulorum pro suo libramine respicit et "tuetur; sicque vobis more Moysi continue orantibus, con-"tingat nos continue de hostibus triumphare; et idem Judex "fortis, patiens et benignus, nostrum progressum, sua inter-"veniente gratia, sibi placidum, aggressum, Ipso cooperante, "felicem et prosperum, et regressum nostrum efficiat Ipso "consummante gloriosum. Ad hæc, pater, cum populus regni "nostri variis oneribus, tallagiis et impositionibus, hactenus "prægravetur, quod dolentes referimus sed inevitabili necessi-"tate compulsi de eisdem oneribus ipsum ad hæc relevare non "valemus, dictum populum ad tantam necessitatem nostram "humiliter et benigne, patienter et caritative sustineat, et "priorem quam penes nos concepit de cetero [et] instanter in "orationibus et elemosinis suis, oneribus prædictis, quæ non "ex malitia vel præsumptione voluntaria ipsum gravant, non "obstantibus, exhibeat caritatem, indulgentiarum muneribus "et aliis modis quibus secundum Deum videbitis expedire, "piis exhortationibus inducatis, et nos penes eundem excusetis. "Speramus namque per Dei gratiam, cujus manus cunctis "indigentibus sola sufficiens et largiflua comprobatur, beneficiis "compensativis dictum populum visitare et consolari, pro "loco et tempore opportunis. Datum apud Berewicum super "Twedam, xx^o^viii^o^ die Martii, anno regni nostri xii^o^."

The archbishop issues orders for masses to be said for the king's success.

Attendens[1] igitur archiepiscopus supradictus fructum uberem quem speravit ex devotis hujusmodi orationibus, divinam ad hoc clementiam inclinantibus, provenire, in caritatis visceribus intimis affectans suorum subditorum animos ad devotionem hujusmodi quantum potuit excitare, injunxit et mandavit ut in singulis ecclesiis parochialibus, conventualibus, et collegiatis suarum diocesis et civitatis, rectores et prælati facerent in singulis Missis de cetero celebrandis, pro salubri statu et prospero dicti domini nostri regis ipsiusque exercitus ac sibi et suis adhærentium, mentionem fieri

[1] The letter of the archbishop, of which the following lines are an abstract, is given in the Fœdera, ii. 1026.

specialem, ac ipsi ac alii Christi fideles, clerici et laici, singulis quartis et sextis feriis processiones solempnes cum devotione debita facientes, pro salubri expeditione ipsius domini regis et suorum, preces Domino fundant humiles et devotas, ut ipse Deus et Dominus noster, in Cujus manu corda sunt regum, pro Sua pietate gressus suos et actus dirigat et disponat; ipsumque dominum nostrum regem cum suis ab adversis protegat et defendat, necnon pacis optatæ tranquillitatem, cujus tempore et non alio bene colitur pacis Auctor, sibi triumphum de inimicis suis concedat, quodque superatis hostibus victor redeat magnificus ad Dei honorem, regni salvationem et totius utilitatem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ; unde omnibus qui pro eisdem domino rege, suo exercitu, sibique et suis adhærentibus, in suis Missis et processionibus præfatis devote oraverint, ut est dictum, xl. dies de injuncta sibi pœnitentia Deo propitio misericorditer relaxavit.

A.D. 1338. Solemn processions to be made; and indulgences granted.

Interim navigium regis in singulis portibus Angliæ præparatur; æstimavit namque quod, si moram faceret in partibus transmarinis, pacem cum rege Franciæ per propinquos et affines eo ipso facilius ordinaret. Et super hoc suum passagium festinavit. Comites igitur Arundellæ, Sarisburiæ et Gloucestriæ, qui castrum de Dunbarre obsederunt, ad requisitionem Scotorum obsidionem castri removerunt, et eo libentius quia tunc eis vacaret cum domino suo rege ad partes exteras proficisci. Sicque concessa fuit eis treuga annualis et amplius prout in indenturis super hoc factis plenius continetur; quorum copia in alio libro inter Incidentia annotatur.

Equipment of the fleet. The siege of Dunbar raised and a truce granted to the Scots.

Prima profectio regis Angliæ ad regem Franciæ debellandum.

Eodem anno, circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, rex Angliæ Edwardo primogenito suo totius regni curam et custodiam committebat; et die Jovis

The first expedition to France, at Midsummer.

A.D. 1338. July 16. The king goes to Antwerp, and renews negotiations.

proximo ante festum Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, videlicet xvii° kalendas Augusti, versus partes transmarinas pelagum est ingressus; apud Andewerpe in Brabannia applicuit; regina Angliæ secum tunc temporis existente; ubi comes Gerlyæ, sororius suus, et dux Brabanniæ ipsum et suos honorifice susceperunt; pluriesque scripsit Philippo de Valesio pro pace perpetua inter regna reformanda. Sed ipse, in sua malitia perseverans, nolebat amori nec pacis tractatui consentire; quin immo galiotas et naves guerrinas in Angliam destinavit, qui loca plurima prope littus maris situata hostiliter invaserunt. Igitur, rege extra regnum agente, multi malefactores, pacis regni et ecclesiæ perturbatores, varia facinora perpetrantes, falsas querelas foventes et felonearum auctores, et in consumptionem et depressionem plurimum conspirantes, communitatem regni sæpius perturbarunt. Quorum malitiis propter quietem populi rex voluit obviare, custodi Angliæ et aliis officiatis ad regni regimen deputatis, et sua brevia mandavit continuo et præcepit, ut, nemini facto favore, delinquentes hujusmodi punirentur, ac etiam archiepiscopis et episcopis per suas litteras mandavit, ut per censuras ecclesiasticas malefactores hujusmodi corriperent et punirent, ac per omnem juris rigorem contra eosdem procederent, quousque a cœptis desisterent debite pœnitentes.

Disturbances in England.

Orders given for the repression of them.

The king of France refuses all terms offered.

Interim, dum hæc agerentur, nuntii[1] regis Angliæ, qui erga cardinales et consilium regis Franciæ pro pace reformanda moram diutinam faciebant, reversi sunt, nuntiantes se nullam aliam mensuram aut responsum a rege Franciæ habuisse, nisi quod rex Angliæ nunquam tantam terram infra regnum Franciæ optinebit, quantam per suam palmam poterit operire; et quod nunquam moram unius diei in regno Franciæ com-

[1] "Episcopi Wintoniensis, Licet- "feldensis et Coventriæ, Arch. "Cantuar. Joannes de Shoredich; "sic Wal. Hypodig. et Stow; v. "et Antiq. Britan. in Stratford." C. in margin.

A.D. 1338.

Edward makes alliances and sends a report of his claims to the pope.

parabit, quin ipsum in crastino expugnaret, et ab eodem expelleret et fugaret. Ex ista siquidem responsione rex Angliæ plurimum lætabatur, quia eo ipso credidit suam causam in proximo terminari; unde plures nobiles alienigenas sibi confœderavit, maxima summa pecuniæ mediante; et, quia jus suum voluit omnibus fieri manifestum, epistolam quandam, jus suum et causam adventus sui in regnum Franciæ continentem, domino Benedicto papæ XII° destinavit. Et quia epistola hæc per quosdam æmulos regis subtracta et concelata ad papæ notitiam non pervenit, consimilem epistolam, verbis salutatoriis dumtaxat diversificatis, dominorum cardinalium collegio per quendam Longobardum, Nicholinum de Flisco, militem sibi valde familiarem, transmisit.[1] Qui lucide proposuit prædicta negotia in consistorio coram papa et cardinalibus, ita ut omnes mirabantur; et, quia dies ista non sufficiebat ad totum negotium exponendum, papa sibi diem crastinum assignavit. Eadem vero nocte furtive sublatus est de lecto suo et versus regem Franciæ per quinque dietas est abductus. Hoc comperto, papa sub pœna perpetuæ dampnationis inquiri fecit consiliarios hujus sceleris et factores; et compertum est quod seneschallus papæ istam proditionem adinvenit. Qui statim, ut cognovit quod opera sua sunt detecta, seipsum nocte subsequente nequiter interfecit; captique sunt alii circiter xxx^{ta} et amplius hujus sceleris valitores, qui omnes suspensi sunt in propriis domibus per fenestras. Excommunicavit etiam papa omnes præfatum regem Angliæ nuntium contra suum libitum impedientes vel retinentes usque ad octavam generationem; et si promoti fuerint privavit, si vero promovendi omnes et singulos inhabi[li]tavit; et ad hæc armatos in diversis partibus mundi ad ipsum perquirendum destinavit, et

His messenger is carried off, by the contrivance of the pope's steward, who commits suicide on being detected.

The pope punishes the accomplices.

[1] *transmisit*] The story occurs in nearly the same words in the Annales de Melsa, ii. 387, 394.

A.D. 1339. Birth of Lionel of Antwerp.

sic tandem reductus est et sanus et salvus domini summi pontificis præsentia præsentatus.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°IX°, regni regis xiii°, apud Andewerpp in Brabannia rege commorante, regina Angliæ peperit filium Leonellum nominatum; ubi quadam nocte prope regis cubiculum ignis non modicus est accensus, qui regem et reginam expulit fere nudos; cujus rabiem domum devorantem plebis diligentia temperavit. Et sunt plerique qui hoc asserebant præsagium futurorum. Et quia mentionem fecimus epistolæ causam et processum juris regis exprimentis, ipsius copiam hic decrevimus inserendam, ut per ipsam informati regis æmulis valeant veridici respondere:—

Fire in the king's lodging.

Littera missa cardinalibus per regem Angliæ.[1]

July 16. The king's letter to the cardinals, declaratory of his claims on the kingdom of France, as laid before the pope.

" Amabilium Deo patrum, sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ " cardinalium, collegio venerando, Edwardus Dei gratia rex " Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ et dux Aquitaniæ, salu- " tem et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Sanctissimo patri " domino summo pontifici post debita reverentiæ munera " scripsimus in hæc verba:—' Jus naturæ primævum, pariter " ' cuncta animalia docens, contra violentas injurias licen- " ' tiam defensionis indulsit, statuens universaliter jure fac- " ' tum quod quisque, vim injuriamque propulsans, suam " ' faciat ad tutelam. Sane cum dudum animosa guerrarum " ' pericula, injuriosa dampnorum discrimina, nobis mota " ' fuerint et illata, quæ toti mundo sunt notoria, ex nostra " ' etiam intimatione frequenti apostolicæ sedi facta satis pro " ' constanti supponitur beatitudini vestræ nota; nos quoque " ' habentes cor pacificum, novit Deus, pro vitandis illis et " ' pacifice subducendis, optulimus voluntarie prosequenti " ' reverenter et humiliter forte nimis amabiles vias pacis, " ' non sine magno nostrorum jurium interesse, ut neglecta " ' prosecutione alia cujuslibet juris nostri, tempore illo justi " ' doloris, quo propter accensam furoris soldani Babiloniæ " ' rabiem et crucis hostium aliorum, ex causa jurati contra

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[1] See Fœdera, ii. 1086; Walsingham, ed. Riley, i. 201–208; Hemingburgh, ii. 316, &c.; Robert of Avesbury, pp. 28, sq.

" 'eos passagii et solempniter publicati, in partibus trans- " 'marinis peribant et pereunt Christiani, et crescunt im- " 'maniter injuriæ Crucifixi; possemus, sicut debemus et " 'propensius anhelamus, intendere causæ Christi quæ negli- " 'gitur, immo verius impeditur in magnum cujuslibet " 'Christicolæ regis et maxime demerentis infamiam et " 'ignominiæ magnæ notam. Sed nescimus veniat quo pacto " 'quod de pacificis oblatis humiliter, de quibus surgere de- " 'buit pacis amor, in eo qui nos sola voluntate prosequitur " 'majoris iracundiæ majorisque duritiæ crevit tumor. " 'Contra nos tamen illum non provocat, Deo et nostra " 'conscientia teste nobis, aliquod factum nostrum vel at- " 'temptatum per nos aliquod contra eum, immo vident " 'oculi mundi, publici testes nostri, præfatus persecutor " 'noster, Francorum regem se nominans, dampnosis injuriis " 'quot et quantis nos et jura nostra vulnerat et defalcat.

A.D. 1339. July 16. He recounts his attempts at a pacific settlement.

" 'Ipse quidem regni Franciæ, quod ad nos omni suc- " 'cessorio jure legitime pertinere dinoscitur, est invasor " 'et illicitus usurpator, regnum ipsum, quod debuit nobis " 'vocatis vel defensis legitime debito juris ordine compe- " 'tere, non veritus occupare, cum ubi essemus et quod " 'persona nos essemus cujus principaliter interesset notorie " 'certum esset, et in regno ipso jus nostrum foret tam " 'notorium quam communi jure fundatum; supposito sicut " 'evidentia facti notorii præsupponit, quod celebris recor- " 'dationis Philippus olim rex Francorum, pater claræ " 'memoriæ Caroli regis Franciæ immediate defuncti, et " 'serenissimæ dominæ Isabellæ reginæ Angliæ matris nos- " 'træ, maternus fuerit avus noster, cum eidem Carolo " 'tempore mortis suæ ex descendentibus secum ab eodem " 'Philippo masculus superstes proximior fuerat nullus nobis, " 'et persona fœminea dicti regni, per jus in eodem regno " 'servatum antiquitus, non sit capax, quod jus regni præ- " 'fati favorem in viam causæ finalis attendens, ne regnum " 'ipsum sub fœminea fragili gubernatione labatur, et " 'propter hoc, personam mulieris excludens, non excludit " 'personam masculi, per sic exclusam fœminam descen- " 'dentis, ne fiat juribus semper odibilis prorogatio odio- " 'rum, personæ videlicet ad personam, sexus ad sexum, " 'causæ ad causam, odii ad favorem, ne contra legum " 'traditiones communes fœmineum genus, ubi maxime de " 'odio agitur, concipiat masculum. Ad hoc etiam per jus

Philip of Valois has usurped the French crown.

Explanation of Edward's title.

A.D. 1339. July 16.

Argument on the law of succession.

" 'memoratum a regno fragilitas muliebris excluditur, ut
" 'regno salubrius consulatur, et proximior masculus admit-
" 'tendus alias admittatur, potissime ad jus illud quod
" 'primordialiter a matre sic exclusa non oritur, sed in
" 'nepotem propagatum ab avo originaliter derivatur; alio-
" 'quin sequeretur et alia iniquitatis absurditas per proro-
" 'gationem odibilem supradictam, quod excluderetur col-
" 'lateralis conjunctio, et remotior vocaretur, cum tamen
" 'ipso jure gentium naturali fratres et sorores eorumque
" 'filii in successione mutua collateralibus aliis alterius
" 'lineæ præferantur; et inde dictum jus pro regum favore,
" 'et odii fœmineæ inhabilitatis ad regnum, exoritur tam
" 'juris quam descendentium, [ne] per fœmineam masculorum
" 'injuriam occasio nasceretur. Nec est putandum quod
" 'memorati juris intentio sit iniqua, ut matrem et filium
" 'ratione contraria simul dampnet, immo contrario juris
" 'ejusdem judicio quo mater a successione repellitur filio
" 'gradum matris ingresso successio tunc defertur, simi-
" 'litudine filii qui gradum parentis deficientis ingre-
" 'ditur, ut ad patris successionem cum patruis etiam
" 'admittatur, ut sic merito tristis mater præfato rigore
" 'regia hereditate nudata, substitutione taliter sibi facta
" 'de filio gaudeat consolata, nec afflictioni afflictionem
" 'accumulet, quod sancta consideratio legis horret, sicut
" 'videmus etiam ubi onus afflictionis præamabile non in-
" 'tulit lex [sed] casus in lege, scilicet quæ consuetudinariam
" 'legem dampnat, bona concedentem alii naufragorum qua
" 'ratione quod in expresso legali pro vitanda afflictiónis
" 'adjectione corrigitur, multo fortius in tanto prohibetur.
" 'Legi vero regni Franciæ sufficiat plus quam plene matri
" 'non suo vitio sed naturæ facto quæ fœminam fecit illam,
" 'radices regias succidisse, quodque mater expresse per
" 'legem ipsam exheredationis propriæ, quasi quoddam nau-
" 'fragium patiatur, absque eo quod ex legis præfatæ con-
" 'sequenti tacito omni jure contrario cum filio exheredato
" 'iterum naufragetur, et sine culpa pœna inveniatur augeri:
" 'cum ubi etiam culpa est debeat demoliri. Aliter, etiamsi
" 'pro eo quod mater ex jure non admitteretur ad regnum,
" 'repelli jure filius intelligeretur a regno, Judæorum reg-
" 'num contra fidei firmamentum legitime non pervenisset
" 'ad Jesum, Qui tamen natus Dei ministerio non virili con-
" 'sortio, ex fœmina regali prole Davitica, Maria Virgine,

" 'ad regnum hujusmodi non admissa, nec etiam admittenda, per certam fidei veritatem Rex verus et legitimus exstitit Judæorum; absit ergo quod Christus filius David, regalis successio, legalis observantiæ sive nodi fuerit fractura sive solutio, cum legem non venerit solvere sed implere. Hoc autem excellentissimum legitimæ successionis exemplum rationabiliter imponit silentium loquacitati contrariæ juri nostro in regno Franciæ memorato, ne quoad legitimum gradum et ordinem succedendi separemur in constitutione vel interpretatione juris, quos quoad hoc parificat idemptitas rationis. Nedum autem debita nostri vocatio nostraque defensio, ubi de tanto nostro agebatur præjudicio, est obmissa, sed etiam nostri procuratores, qui in Franciam ierant ut pro nobis et nostro jure legitime comparerent, non solum fuerunt in judicio non admissi, sed etiam mortis horribilis comminatione repulsi; et sic nostrum æmulum memoratum factum duodecim parium Franciæ non excusat, qui quoad nos quibus ætatis tenellæ minoritas tunc favebat, relictis partibus judicum ex hoc functi partibus sunt prædonum. Quorum processum, factum in nostrum præjudicium, ipso jure nostra fecit invalidum minor ætas; qui quoad majorem efficax non fuisset, taliter defensione sublata quæ competit homini eo jure naturæ, quod tolli nequit a principio nec a jure. Notum est etiam communiter ubique, qualiter in Aquitania nostro ducatu semper invaserit et colliserit jura nostra, et terras nostras invadens et dissipans quas capere poterat, aliis nostris [terris] quas occupavit adjungens, et, jus sibi dicens ad libitum, Dei timore postposito, sibi tenens. Scotis etiam, quos nostræ coronæ subjecerant jura temporum antiquorum, sed per iniquam rebellionis dementiam contra naturalem dominum calcitrantes contumaciter in nostros prædecessores et nos læsæ majestatis criminis rei erant, ut contra nos injuriæ nihil omitteret, ad nostras injurias fœdere se adjunxit, in tanto crimine tantæ nostræ injuriæ fovens, qui jure sanguinis et naturæ debuit potius nos juvare. Cumque præmissa omnia non implerent de nostris injuriis votum suum, collectis undique viribus, quicquid potuit, ut nos iræ suæ torrens absorbeat, aggregavit, tollere nos de mundo sollicitus, ad aliud non intendens, forsitan ex intento factoque suo contra jus nos-

A.D. 1339. July 16.

Parallel from the history of Judah.

Other grounds of complaint against Philip of Valois.

A.D. 1339. July 16.

The king represents his own patience.

" 'trum contra se metitus intentum, quod colligere vel metiri
" 'nequivit per alicujus nostri actus indicium nedum actum.
" 'Donum insuper impensum nobis divini muneris ægre
" 'ferens, æstimare visus est suam injuriam in Angliæ regno
" 'nostro nos vivere super terram, etsi quantum dabat Do-
" 'minus prospere saltem per omnia pacifice quoad eum,
" 'quodque serviens nobis populus, vel verius cui servimus,
" 'nostris temporibus Dei dono fuerit gloriosus. Hæc autem
" 'non statim audita vel cognita nos moverunt, sed illa sub
" 'dissimulatione transivimus, nulli parcentes oneri vel honori
" 'ut contra nos persecutio sua injuriaque quiesceret, nos-
" 'trumque cum eo pacificum tempus esset, donec propin-
" 'quando nobis viderimus gladium nostræ ac nostrorum neci
" 'et exterminio præparatum. Sed nunquid aliquis est qui
" 'credat quod animus nobis cognitus principis tantæ po-
" 'tentiæ, et sic, ut præmittitur, occupatæ, nobis fuerit
" 'negligendus, qui suæ viribus voluntatis armatus, potentia
" 'undique vocata vallatus, solum ut possit liberius pro sua
" 'voluntate nos persequi, juratam deserit causam Christi?
" 'Quid ergo pro suo jure suaque securitate non licuit
" 'regi sui status suique populi periculum jam videnti, dicat
" 'qui noverit, quid non liceat homini de vitandis injuriis
" 'dampnisque certanti illisque præsertim quæ ad vitæ
" 'statusque radices securim ponere properabant. Levisne
" 'timor dici poterit aut vanus, qui pro nobis se potuit
" 'conjunctorum nobis illustrium fortiumque constantia corda
" 'concutere, multo fortius debuit et nos terrere quos solos
" 'periculorum concepta molimina concernebant? Propter
" 'hoc igitur, jure naturæ dictante, facti tam nostri quam
" 'nostrorum jurium, non voluntarii sed necessarii defen-
" 'sores, ac opportunis cautionibus attendentes, juxta rei
" 'militaris documenta probata illustrium, quia potentiæ
" 'magnæ pericula conspirata periculosius expectantur, in
" 'laribus illis nuper currentibus ad nostræ lucis et salutis
" 'occasum consultius venimus in occursum, ne contra nos
" 'discriminose forte procederent, sed sui ortus præfocaren-
" 'tur in loco eorum, freti consilio et auxilio nobis oblato,
" 'quos nobis consanguinitas et affinitas conjungebat, et ad
" 'quos simul spectabat nobiscum periculis nostræ destruc-
" 'tionis occurrere, illaque consiliis et auxiliis præcavere,
" 'ponentes in manu Deo, tanquam in manibus apostolicæ
" 'sedis vestræ, vel aliorum bonorum virorum communium,

" 'imponere quondam voluimus quantum potuimus justificatam " 'causam nostram, ut ipse, rectum ab alto prospiciens, sen- " 'tentiam justam ferat, et in sui gladii viribus exequatur. " 'Nec credimus, alme pater, quod arbiter quivis rectus, vel " 'etiam judex justus, sic interpretetur aut torqueat factum " 'nostrum, ut quod pro nostrorum tuitione et assecutione " 'jurium et in tanto discrimine nostram fecimus ad de- " 'fensam, [alterius quam non intendimus, non agimus nec " 'agemus, putet injuriam vel offensam]. Immo credimus " 'vel quin potius certi sumus quod facti nostri intentio " 'attendetur, et quia ubi ac propter quid fiat debita con- " 'sideratione librabitur, et justi statere judicis attendetur " 'vel appendetur; et, sicut sanctio legis docet non factum " 'ex dicto sed dictum pensetur ex facto. Non esset equidem " 'juris præsumptio nobilis quod supponit factum ab homine " 'fieri suo jure, non benigna interpretatio vel civilis, qua- " 'lem fieri semper dictat censura legalis, si nostri juris " 'usum notorium nostræque defensionis compendium dispen- " 'dium offensionis illicite quis diceret alienæ. Cesset igi- " 'tur quæsumus omnis conjectura in actibus nostris certis " 'quæ locum dumtaxat sibi vendicat in non certis. De- " 'nique diceret forsitan accusator, calumpniosus nostræ actio- " 'nis interpres, quod suscepimus hominis, contra quem fertur " 'processisse ecclesiam vel non parentis ecclesiæ, vicariam. " 'Non dicet quod fratris et affinis vicibus fungimur non " 'ad juris habendum titulum sed necessarium nobis poten- " 'tiæ solum usum, ut necessario fulti præsidio ubi nunc " 'sumus nos a congestis in nostram ruinam periculis de- " 'fendamus, et pro nostrorum justa jurium assecutione cer- " 'temus. Non dicet quod intendimus nos defendere, pro " 'nostro jure certare, non ecclesiam impugnare vel ejus " 'impugnationi favere, pro cujus utique ubique staremus " 'honore, nullius habita ratione periculi, sicut catholicam " 'excellentiam regum decet. Cum tamen, ut omnis series " 'juris censet, intentio ut cujuslibet actionis finalis causa " 'vel ratio sit principaliter attendenda; et ex notitia " 'voluntatis atque propositi surgat distincta certaque cog- " 'nitio operis accusati, solumque de gestis hominum realis " 'actio non verbalis conceptio ponderetur; non dicet quod " 'de materia ista facimus scutum contra eum, qui nostro " 'capiti præminebat, quodque fecerimus medici sapientis " 'exemplo, qui materiam morte plenam, currentem ad partes

A.D. 1339. July 16.

His war is one of self-defence.

Touching the vicariate of the empire.

A.D. 1339. July 16. The king's defence against misrepresentation.

" 'corporis ubi vita se recipit, divertere facit ad membra " 'in quibus materia nequit esse suspecta, quæ ad proximum " 'fuerat interitum præparata. Sic loquitur, sancte pater, sic " 'loquitur qui in suis insidiis nos invenire quærebat in- " 'cautos et penitus imperitos; sed proculdubio cautius et " 'tutius fuit nobis juxta militarem theoricam edocentem " 'quod motæ guerræ periculum plus evitat qui eam a suæ " 'terræ limite persequestrat, contra notorium hostem nos- " 'trum pro jure nostro nos congredi, ex terris potentum " 'potentibus sociatis, quam in proprio nostro solo. Non " 'igitur apud vestræ viscera misericordiæ sanctitatis locum " 'inveniat detrahentium informatio æmula vel sinistra, facta " 'de filio qui suorum hereditario jure majorum in vestro- " 'rum prædecessorum vestra et apostolicæ sedis gratia et " 'obedientia semper inconcussa persistit et persistet. Immo " 'si quævis de filio taliter facta suggestio pulsaverit vestræ " 'beatitudinis forsitan aures, non prius de vestra dignatione " 'sancta credulitas illi detur quam auditus sit filius qui " 'tangetur, qui confidit et indesinenter intendit ante sanc- " 'titatis vestræ judicium omni præsidens creaturæ, quod " 'negare hæresim est probare, justam dicere vel justam " 'facere quamlibet causam suam. Illud nempe demum " 'dicimus ad nostræ intentionis majorisque devotionis evi- " 'dentiam subjungentes, quod si sit aliquis de nobis fœdere " 'naturæ conjunctis nobisque ad defensionem nostram ad- " 'junctis, qui per viam obedientiæ apostolicæ sedis vestræ " 'non ambulet sicut debet, dare intendimus, quam non " 'parum utiliter dare posse confidimus, operam indefes- " 'sam, ut omni dimisso devio ad viam obedientiæ redeat " 'omnemque faciat semitam suam rectam. Unum rursus " 'quod a multis audivimus, petita venia cum reverentia " 'non tacemus, quod alias inauditum quanto consideratur " 'attentius pungit acutius mentem nostram, videlicet quod " 'adversarii nostri manus, notorie nunc ut prius ad nostrum " 'tantum laborantis exitium cum guerram faceret, nemo " 'sibi sicut nec ipse alii nisi nobis de Christi patrimonio sit " 'armatus. Quod certe reges Angliæ nostros prædecessores " 'illustres Christi pugiles, fidei athletas, sanctæ Romanæ " 'matris ecclesiæ amantissimos zelatores, ejusque mandato- " 'rum devotissimos servatores, vel nos etiam nec scimus " 'nec credimus meruisse. Et licet propter hoc dicatur a " 'plurimis non a nobis, quod talis contra nos facta sub-

" 'ventio quoad nos actus patris vel matris non existit sed " 'vitrici vel novercæ, nihilominus tamen constanter asseri- " 'mus quod sumus et perseveranter erimus vestræ sancti- " 'tatis vestræque sedis devotus et humilis filius, non pri- " 'vignus, ex quo non sine ratione speramus quod nostra " 'humilitas, facta major et firmior per illud quod non me- " 'ruit nocumentum, vestræ paternæ caritatis et gratiæ " 'invenire debeat exuberantius incrementum, ut quod nobis " 'insontibus intulit quæ præcesserit asperitas punctionis, " 'sequens deleat et compenset vestræ lenitas unctionis. " 'Hunc autem nostræ justitiæ et contra nos injuriæ sic " 'multiplicatæ processum præeminentiæ vestræ sancti cul- " 'minis intimamus, ut vestra summa sanctaque mensura " 'boni et æqui, cujus a Deo sibi competit dare claves ape- " 'rire et claudere in terra positis portas cæli, prout exigit " 'plenitudo suæ potestatis et præcellentia sui fori, quantum " 'fuerit rationis favere debeat nostro juri, parati semper " 'nedum a vestro sancto cunctis præsidente judicio, immo " 'et a quolibet alio de veritate contrarii, si quis eam nove- " 'rit, humiliter informari; et qui sponte rationi subicimur " 'aliam datam nobis intelligi veritatem cum plena et humili " 'complectemur gratitudine.' "

A.D. 1339. July 16. He commends himself and his cause to the pope.

" Quia vero vos patres conscripti estis in partem sollicitudi- " nis et concilii dicti domini summi pontificis condignis meritis " evocati, sibique lateraliter ad dandam plebi Christi salutis " scientiam assidetis, ista vestræ cupimus patere notitiæ, ut, " cognita causæ nostræ justitia, veritati possitis impendere " quod debetis, ad quod circumspectionem vestram providam, " quæ solet sine personarum acceptione jura singulorum æquo " libramine ponderare, votivis precibus excitamus. Et si " forsitan in facto nostro quicquam iniquum appareat, cau- " telam exposcens sanioris consilii, a vobis super hoc cupi- " mus salubriter informari, parati in agendis singulis cedere " rationi. Datum apud Andewerppe, xvi^o^ kalendas Julii, " anno regni nostri xiii^o^, et Incarnationis Dominicæ M^o^CCC^o^- " XXX^o^VIIII^o^.' "

He invokes the aid of the cardinals.

Jure igitur regis Angliæ prædicti sic litteratorie summo pontifici suisque cardinalibus notificato, exheredationem suam ulterius sustinere recusans, cum mille ducentis hominibus armatis octingentis ad arma, ii. milibus sagittariis, idem rex Angliæ de Dei confidens

Numbers of the king's force.

A.D. 1339. Sept. 20. He marches from Valenciennes, and crosses the Oise.

misericordia et suo jure, die Lunæ in vigilia Sancti Matthæi apostoli et evangelistæ, anno antedicto, de civitate Valentiana versus Franciam cœpit dirigere gressus suos; et sic comburendo spoliandoque patrias diversas regni Franciæ, pertransiens flumen Doyse, exspectabat congressum cum Philippo de Valesio se habiturum et dictum Philippum et magistrum arcubalistariorum regis Franciæ se nominantis, sed minime adimpletum. Timore enim Edwardi regis Angliæ percussus, Philippus de Valesio, se regem Franciæ nominans, fugam iniit, mille equos miserabiliter demersos et in marisco volutatos reliquit; quod pro disconfitura Philippi de Valesio in toto mundo divulgatum est. Rex vero Angliæ opera misericordiæ Dei in ipso demonstrata duci Cornubiæ filio suo primogenito, Angliæ tunc custodi, et archiepiscopo Cantuariensi litteratorie deinceps scribere non tardavit. Flandrenses autem ex antiqua concordia in non modica summa pecuniæ sacrosanctæ sedi apostolicæ Romanæ obligati, si aliquando contra regis rectos heredes regni Franciæ insurgere[nt] bellicose, ex communi et unanimi assensu provida deliberatione statuerunt, cum domino Edwardo rege et directo herede regni Franciæ contra Philippum de Valesio regni Franciæ occupatorem illicitum amicabilia fœdera conservare, timentes ne, clarescente jure ipsius, ipsi antiquæ concordiæ rei effecti, pœnæ appositæ subjacerent. Rex quoque Angliæ eorumque rationibus requisitus acquievit, atque arma sua, impressiones sigillorum suorum majoris et minoris, litterarumque suarum stilum variavit, et deinceps se regem Angliæ et Franciæ nominavit; unde quidam metrice sic dicebat in persona regis Edwardi sive regnorum etc:

Flight of Philip.

Alliance with the Flemings.

Edward calls himself king of France.

"Anglia jure patris mihi cedit, Francia matris;
"Essem regnorum sic rex de jure duorum."

Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX°IX° factum est parliamentum Londoniis in Turri, ubi concessum est regi pro

A.D. 1339. Grant of the ninth fleece.

defensione juris sui ad regnum Franciæ subsidium, videlicet nonus agnus, nonum vellus, nona garba, per biennium in tota Anglia.

A.D. 1340. Victory at Sluys.

Anno sequenti, in vigilia Johannis Baptistæ, rex cum magna classe pugnavit contra regem Franciæ in mari apud Sluys juxta Flandriam, et vicit gloriose.

A.D. 1346. Victory at Crecy, Aug. 26.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XL°VI°., in partibus Normanniæ, apud Cressy in Normannia, commissum est grave bellum inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ, duobus ibidem regibus interfectis, rege Majoricarum et rege Boemiæ, et duobus ducibus, scilicet Lorinhiæ et Burboniæ, et sex comitibus ex parte Gallicorum cum multitudine copiosa. Facta est hoc victoria sabbato die præcedenti festum Sancti Augustini doctoris.

Victory at Neville's Cross, Oct. 17.

Eodem anno in Anglia, rege subsedente Calesiam, captus est rex Scotiæ David Bruys, et Londonias ductus, in crastino, Sancti Michaelis in monte Tumba, prope Dunelmiam, in loco qui nunc dicitur Nevyle's Cross.

A.D. 1347. The plague begins at Melcombe in July.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XL°VII°, circa festum Sancti Jacobi, pestilentia venit gravis in Angliam in partibus Australibus, incipiens per quosdam applicantes de mari in villa quæ dicitur Melkombe, et duravit per duos annos.

A.D. 1354. Battle of Poictiers.

Anno Domini M°CCC°L°VI°.,[1] Edwardus princeps in partibus Aquitanniæ, pugnans contra regem Franciæ Johannem vocatum, in campo de Peyters, ipsum regem cepit cum multis nobilibus, et anno sequenti ad Angliam secum duxit. In quo bello de Gallicis hominum armatorum mortui sunt ad duo milia et —.

A.D. 1364. Four kings in London.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LX° Edwardus princeps rediit ad Vasconiam, ubi recepit fidelitatem omnium. Quo anno venerunt ad Angliam quatuor reges ex amicitia quam habebant ad regem Edwardum; rex Franciæ Johannes qui moritur Londoniis eodem anno; rex

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[1] *m°ccc°l°vi°*] MCCCLIIII. MSS.

A.D. 1364. Charles of Blois falls at Auray.

Cipri, rex Scotorum et rex quidam paganorum, cum rege Cipri, venit videre Edwardum. Eodem anno mortuus est Carolus Walloys, dux Britanniæ vocatus, victus in campo apud Orrery per dominum Johannem comitêm Montisfortis, cui de jure debebatur ducatus Britanniæ.[1] Hic primo desponsaverat Mariam filiam regis Edwardi tertii; secundo desponsavit sororem regis Anglorum Ricardi IIdi.

A.D. 1366. Simon Langham Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LX°VI°., moritur dominus Simon archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et Willelmus Edington eligitur in archiepiscopum; sed ipso nolente Wyntoniensem ecclesiam dimittere pro Cantuariensi, eligitur Simo Eliensis, prius abbas Westmonasterii, postea sacerdos cardinalis et tandem Portuensis.

A.D. 1367. Wars of the Prince of Wales in Spain.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LX°VII°. Edwardus princeps Walliæ de Wasconia intravit Hispaniam, cum Petro rege Hispaniæ a regno expulso per fratrem suum Henricum bastardum; et eundem Petrum regno restituit victoriose, et reversus est ad Wasconiam. In illo itinere multi nobiles mortui sunt de Anglicis in Hispania, non gladio sed fluxu ventris. Idem princeps eodem modo infirmatur infirmitate incurabili quæ eum tenuit usque ad mortem illius. Eodem anno natus est principi filius apud Burdegalam Ricardus dictus, quem duo reges de sacro fonte receperunt.

Birth of Richard II.

A.D. 1376. Death of the prince of Wales.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LXX°VI° moritur Edwardus princeps Walliæ, militiæ Anglorum decus et flos, in festo Sanctæ Trinitatis, quod festum singularissime venerabatur, semper hoc desiderans in illo festo vitam finire.

A.D. 1377. Death of Edward III.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LXX°VII°, circa festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ nocte Dominica, moritur gloriosissimus Anglorum rex Edwardus, anno regni sui LI°, ætatis vero LX°VI°. Hic præ omnibus regibus Anglorum

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[1] John IV. de Montfort. His second wife was Johanna Holland, daughter of Sir Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and half sister of Richard II.

devotissimus erat Virgini beatæ, quam semper habuit protectricem. A.D. 1377.

Eodem anno coronatur in regem Angliæ Ricardus filius Edwardi principis Walliæ in crastino Sancti Swythini, anno ætatis suæ XI°.[1] Coronation of Richard II.

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[1] The Trinity Transcript closes with the following note: "Robertus de Bridlington prior 4tus "scriba, propheta aliquando dicitur; sepultus jacet in claustro "de Bridlington. Quære an "scriptor fuerit hujus historiæ." The short notices from 1339 onwards are inserted in confused order in MS. H. They were probably mere occasional jottings added at the end of the original MS.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF
EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.

V.

MONACHI CUJUSDAM MALMESBERIENSIS
VITA EDWARDI II.

MONACHI CUJUSDAM MALMESBERIENSIS VITA EDWARDI II.

A.D. 1307. July 7. Accession of Edward II.

Edwardus post conquæstum primus, anno regni sui xxxv° in die Translationis Sancti Thomæ naturæ debitum solvens, suscepit regnum filius ejus Edwardus secundus, juvenis et fortis robore, ætatis suæ annum agens circiter vicesimum tertium. Hic propositum patris sui nondum consummavit,[1] sed in alia consilium mutavit. Petrum de Gaveston, qui nuper præcepto patris regis terram Angliæ abjuraverat, revocavit. Fuerat autem dictus Petrus, vivente rege Edwardo sene, juvenis Edwardi, tunc principis Walliæ, camerarius familiarissimus et valde dilectus, quod manifeste satis apparuit non multo post. Dominus enim rex juvenis domino Petro, ab exilio reverso, de consilio et assensu quorundam magnatum terræ, videlicet Henrici de Lacy comitis Lincolniæ et aliorum, comitatum Cornubiæ contulit et donavit. Ipse etenim comes Henricus de Lacy, cum dubitaretur an rex prædictum comitatum a jure quod cum corona habebat posset separare, proposuit regem posse, nam sic et alii reges bis antea fecerant. Major tamen pars baronum terræ non consensit, tum quia Petrus alienigena erat a Vasconia oriundus, tum propter invidiam. Invidebant enim ei magnates terræ, quia ipse solus haberet gratiam in oculis regis et quasi secundus rex dominare-

Piers Gaveston made earl of Cornwall with the consent of a minority of the barons.

[1] *consummavit*] consumavit, MS.

A.D. 1307.

Gaveston's unpopularity stimulates the affection of the king, who marries him to his niece.

tur, cui subessent omnes et par nullus. Invidebat etiam illi quasi tota terra, major et minor et senex, et mala de eo prædicabant; unde et nomen ejus valde diffamatum est. Nec tamen voluntatem regis a Petro poterant separare, quin etiam quando plura audiret rex quæ gratiam ejus conarentur extinguere, tanto magis invalescebat amor et crescebat affectio regis erga Petrum. In tantum etiam ut ad partem Petri fortificandam et amicis stipandam, filiam sororis suæ, quæ fuit filia quondam Gilberti comitis Gloucestriæ, dominus rex dicto Petro collocavit [in] matrimonium. Sane hæc copulatio matrimonialis partem ejus non modicum valebat; favorem namque amicorum sibi vehementer augebat et odium baronum refrænabat.

Burial of Edward I.

Interea convocati sunt archiepiscopi, comites et ceteri terræ magnates ad sepeliendum corpus regis nuper defuncti; et sepultus est dictus rex honorifice Londoniis apud Westmonasterium juxta patrem suum Henricum tertium.[1] Post hæc ad majorem Petri famam augendam et nomen celebrandum, auxiliante et consulente domino rege, nomine domini Petri proclamatum est celebriter quoddam torneamentum in villa videlicet Walyngfordiæ, quæ est de dominico comitis Cornubiæ. Dies etiam præfigitur, dies scilicet sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Andreæ. Hoc itaque torneamentum comites et barones in odium Petri magis excitabat. Adveniente igitur die præfixo ex una parte conjuncti sunt comites tres vel quatuor cum manu valida, comes videlicet Warenniæ, comes Herfordiæ, comes de Arundel, et barones non pauci; ex parte domini Petri comes nullus erat nominatus expressus, sed omnes fere milites juniores et robustiores regni, qui prece vel pretio poterant conduci, partem domini Petri juvabant. Unde et in illo torneamento pars ejus superiorem manum habebat, ac optata reportabat, quamvis campus

A tournament at Wallingford, Dec. 2.

This increases Gaveston's unpopularity.

[1] Edward was buried October 27.

alteri parti remaneret. Nam ipsius ludi lex esse dinoscitur, quod qui plus perdit et qui sæpius ab equo deicitur, probior et fortior judicatur. A.D. 1307. December.

Ex hiis et aliis indies crescebat odium; erat enim Petrus homo valde elatus et superbus in gestu. Nam omnes quos sibi pares regni consuetudo esse dictabat, humiles et abjectos, neq ipsum in probitate quicquam attingere posse reputabat. Econtra comites et barones Angliæ ipsum Petrum, quia alienigenam et humilem quondam armigerum, ad tantum decus et honorem provectum, nec sui prioris status memorem, despiciebant. Unde et apud omnes fere qui in regno erant pro ludibrio habebatur. Rex autem continuum amorem erga eum habebat, in tantum ut exiret a curia regis præceptum publicum ne quis eum nomine proprio vocaret, videlicet dominum Petrum de Gavestone, sed comitem Cornubiæ nominaret. Gaveston's insolence. He is regarded as an upstart. The king's favour.

Deinde cum rediissent nuntii qui ad dominum Philippum regem Franciæ missi fuerant, pro matrimonio copulando inter filiam dicti regis Franciæ et regem Angliæ, ac optata reportassent, dominus rex Angliæ ad transfretandum se paravit et navigio parato mare cum suis intravit. Regnum autem in manu Petri in custodia deputatur. Mira res, qui nuper ab Anglia exul erat et ejectus, ejusdem terræ jam factus est gubernator et custos. Celebratis itaque de more nuptiis, rex Angliæ cum conjuge sua lætus in Angliam est reversus. A.D. 1308. He is named regent during the king's visit to France. The king's marriage.

Post hæc fiunt præparatoria coronationi regis. Vocantur archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites et barones. Venerunt igitur omnes, sed burgenses singularum civitatum aderant. Die Sancti Mathiæ apostoli coronati et consecrati sunt rex et regina. Episcopus Wyntoniensis coronam capiti regis apposuit, sed hoc de mandato et consensu archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, cum ad ejus dignitatem et ecclesiæ suæ noscatur pertinere, factum est, ipso archiepiscopo quominus adesset vel infirmitate The coronation, Feb. 25, by the bishop of Winchester.

A.D. 1308. Feb. 25. Confederacy against Gaveston.

præpedito vel nondum a transmarinis partibus in Angliam reverso. Finita igitur solempnitate et festive celebrato convivio rediit unusquisque ad propria.

Hugh le Despenser supports him.

Nunc primum insurrexerunt contra Petrum de Gavestone omnes fere comites et barones Angliæ, invicemque jurejurando astricti sunt, a cœptis nunquam desistere donec Petrus terram Angliæ evaçuaret, et comitatum Cornubiæ dimitteret; nullusque magnatum partem Petri sustinuit excepto rege et Hugone le Despenser. Comes autem Gloucestriæ neutram partem promovit: cum Petro non fuit ne pares suos offenderet; cum baronibus esse non potuit quia fratrem suum in lege expungnare non decuit. Sed et prædictus Hugo Despenser omnibus baronibus exosus factus est, eo quod ipsos pro communi utilitate regni laborantes deseruerat et, magis studio placendi et cupiditate lucrandi quam ex alia justa causa, parti Petri adhæserat. Ille vero qui Petrum prius favore et amicitia præ ceteris excepto rege foverat et dilexerat, inter omnes barones maximus ejus inimicus factus est et persecutor. Hic erat Henricus de Lacy comes Lyncolniæ, et hoc non ex vitio comitis sed ex ingratitudine ipsius Petri noscitur accidisse.

The Earl of Gloucester neutral.

The Earl of Lincoln turns against him.

General alarm and threatenings of civil war.

Hæc seditiosa dissensio inter dominum regem et barones orta per totam Angliam jam divulgata est, sed et tota terra pro tali tumultu valde desolata est: omne enim regnum in se divisum desolabitur. Homines mediocres pacifici, pacis amatores, guerram et pacis exilium valde formidabant; prædones vero qui prædam captabant et ad aliena manum extendere, bellum non pacem affectabant. Rex vero civitates suas et castra muniri fecit et reparari, sed magnates ex parte sua hoc idem fecerunt. Per totam terram vero in comitatibus, hundredis, civitatibus, burgis et villis, convocationes et inprovisiones factæ sunt, et quibus quilibet armis, necessitate inveniente, uteretur ex debito provisum est et ordinatum. Certissime enim puta-

S. Luke, xi. 17.

batur dissensionem jam cœptam sine magna ruina sedari non posse. A.D. 1308.

Post hæc videntes hii qui ex consilio regis erant, ex tali discordia toti terræ imminere discrimen, et præcaventes in futurum, ne furor adhuc recens radices suas ita extenderet, quod inveteratus de facili extingui non possit, elaboratum est ab eisdem ut rex et barones sui in amicitiam et concordiam revocarentur. De communi igitur consilio vocantur comites, barones et alii magnates terræ tractaturi[1] de pace, conveniuntque Londoniis non sine manu armata, proditionem metuentes; ubi rex eos exspectabat. Igitur cum diu res ipsa voluta et revoluta esset nec tamen finem acciperet; multi enim volentes utrique parti placere, vacillabant, ex quorum consilio et discretione negotium dependebat; tandem post multos et varios circuitus, cum in aliud consentire non possent, promissum est et concessum baronibus per regem quod Petrus de Gavestone terram Angliæ egrederetur. Per archiepiscopos etiam et episcopos sententia[2] excommunicationis in Petrum lata est si ultra terminum statutum in partibus Angliæ moraretur. Terminus itaque positus est, dies videlicet Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, quo et eodem festo per anni revolutionem elapso idem Petrus eandem terram prius abjuraverat. Adveniente igitur die præfixo, dominus rex et Petrus cum multo comitatu ad portum Bristolliæ sunt profecti; ibidemque post modicum a rege licentiatus Petrus cum multa familia in partes Hiberniæ se transtulit et recepit, totaque terra ex præcepto domini regis Angliæ suæ dominationi et potestati subdita est.

A council is summoned for the purpose of reconciliation.

May. The king allows Gaveston to be banished.

June. The king conducts him to Bristol and sends him to Ireland.

Hiis itaque peractis nec adhuc verus amor successit, nec vera concordia. Æstimabant enim comites, in om-

[1] *tractaturi*] tractatus, MS. The council was summoned for March 3, but postponed to the 28th of April; the sentence against Gaveston was issued on the 18th of May.

[2] *sententia*] sententiam, MS.

A.D. 1308. Gaveston's banishment proves as costly as his presence.

nibus gestis adhuc se esse circumventos, et priorem laborem inanem et cassum, propositum namque eorum exitum non sumpsit optatum. Voluissent certe comites quod Petrus Anglia recessisset, ita quod amplius in familiaritate regis non permansisset, nec terra diutius sumptibus suis sicut prius gravaretur; antecedebat enim fere regem in expensis. Defecit itaque propositum comitum. Nam Petrus in Hibernia jam moram faciens, omnes redditus illius terræ, qui ad regem Angliæ pertinebant,[1] ex voluntate regis et præcepto, in suos usus assumpsit et consumpsit, sicque novissimus error priore factus est pejor.

The Earl of Gloucester marries the daughter of the Earl of Ulster.

Interea[2] Gilbertus comes Gloucestriæ, filius quondam comitis Gilberti, filiam comitis de Holvestere duxit in uxorem. Ad nuptias convenerunt multi magnates et nobiles, proposuerantque rotundam tabulam ibidem tenuisse; sed pavor circumventionis, timorque proditionis, quosdam invasit fecitque quominus cœpta procederent.

The king draws over the barons to his side,

Videns itaque rex barones suos quasi murum ex adverso consistere, et propter hoc propositum suum non posse procedere, conatus est fœdus eorum rumpere, et potentiores ad se inclinare. Igitur paterna et patriæ fretus[3] cautela, blandiuntur enim Anglici cum vires oneri sufficere non vident, unum post alium donis, promissis et blanditiis, ad suum nutum reduxit, in tantum ut vix unus ex baronibus remaneret qui prius decreta et concessa defenderet. Solus autem comes de Warewyk flecti non potuit. Dicebat enim sana conscientia se a placitis recedere non posse. Sed cum omnes dissimularent ipse solus stare non potuit. Nec tamen expresso consensit. Interea multi tractatus et consilia habita sunt de defensione terræ Scotiæ et ex-

except the Earl of Warwick.

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[1] *pertinebant*] pertinebat, MS.

[2] *Interea*] The marriage took place at Michaelmas; see vol. i. pp. 156, 264.

[3] *fretus*] fetus, MS.

pugnatione Roberti de Brutz, cujus tamen effectus fuerunt nec in palam venit neque de facto apparuit. A.D. 1309. Gaveston returns to England.

Dum hæc ita agerentur et jam appropinquaret autumpnus, viderenturque barones cum rege unanimes, Petrus de Gavestone clam propter insidias adversariorum per partes Walliæ ab Hibernia in Angliam reversus est. Sententia vero quæ contra eum lata erat, si amplius in Anglia moraretur, procurante rege, auctoritate apostolica remissa est.

The king meets him at Chester. Rex itaque, sciens Petrum jam rediisse, obviam ei venit ad Cestriam, ibique de reditu suo lætus gratanter valde eum tanquam fratrem suum honorifice suscepit. Revera fratrem suum semper appellaverat. Nullus autem baronum ausus est amplius vel contra eum manum extendere, vel de reditu suo querelam deponere; claudicabat enim cœtus eorum, et pars eorum, in se divisa, infirmata est.

The earl of Lincoln mediates. Sic igitur qui bis antea dampnatus erat in exilium, jam exultat reversus ad solium. Comes autem Lincolniensis, qui anno præterito inter omnes barones exilium Petri maxime procuraverat, amicabilis compositor jam factus est et mediator; ad cujus preces sollicitas et continuas comes de Warenna, qui, ab eo tempore quo torneamentum de Walyngford finem accepit, hilarem vultum Petro nunquam exhibuit, necessarius amicus jam factus est et fidelis adjutor. Ecce quam frequens et subita magnatum mutatio. Quibus sine[1] fide adhibemus in borea, contrarium reperimus in Austro.[2] Amor magnatum quasi ludus in alea, et vota divitum pennis[3] simillima. The earl Warenne reconciled.

Gaveston's increased insolence. Petrus vero ad pristinum statum jam reversus deterius se cœpit habere quam prius. Comites et barones despiciebat, et turpia cognomina similiter addebat. Officia et potestates ab aliis auferebat, et suis famili-

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[1] *sine*] sane, suggested by Hearne; perhaps "si fidem" is meant.

[2] *Austro*] Auster, MS.

[3] *pennis*] pernis, Hearne.

A.D. 1309. The earl of Lancaster offended.

aribus pro libito conferebat.[1] Unde magnates terræ cœperunt hæc pro malo habere, et præcipue comes Lancastriæ, quia unus ex familiaribus suis procurante Petro ejectus erat ab officio suo. Iccirco cave tibi, Petre, quia comes Lancastriæ retribuet tibi simile.

The king and his favourite keep Christmas at Langley.

Ipse igitur dominus rex de præsentia Petri valde gavisus est, quasi qui recepit amicum ex longa peregrinatione revertentem, lætos dies agitabat. Instante vero Nativitate Domini, dominus rex et Petrus ad locum quem rex ipse valde dilexit cum tota familia iter direxit. Locus autem ille Langeleye dicitur, qui juxta villam Sancti Albani situatur. In hoc igitur loco festa natalitia celebrarunt, cotidie colloquentes ac mutua conversatione et diu affectata præsentia priorem absentiam plene redimentes.

A.D. 1310. The barons meet in London, but refuse to attend the king except in arms.

Transacto natali solatio conveniunt[2] Londoniis edicto regio barones universi, qui cum ad locum consuetum parliamenti nostri venire differrent, et rex inconsuetæ moræ causam requireret, nuntiis regis tale dederunt responsum, dicentes quod ad mandatum regis et domini naturalis venire tenebantur ex debito, sed dum capitalis inimicus eorum, qui regnum turbaverat et ipsos, regio lateret in thalamo, accessum eorum non fore securum, ac hoc nec in hoc regis præcepto fore parendum uno ore protestabantur, addentes quod, si se regio conspectui repræsentare oporteret omnimodo, non inermes ut facere solebant, sed armati copiam sui facere promiserunt. Nec ob hoc offensam se regia majestas sentiret aut læsam dum unusquisque naturali viam affectu tenetur eligere tutiorem.

Gaveston sent away for a time.

Tandem rex de suorum consilio Petrum ad satis tuta loca profectum[3] dimisit ad tempus, ut cœptum negotium vel finem caperet optatum, vel saltem mora

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[1] *conferebat*] conferrebat, MS.
[2] This assembly met Feb. 8, 1310, at Westminster.
[3] *profectum*] præfectum, MS.

ejus non faceret imperfectum. Extunc convenerunt comites et barones, causamque vocationis audituri, regem adierunt; inter quos multa interlocutoria habita sunt, quæ non in communem venere notitiam. Sed cum per multos dies protelatum esset consilium, hoc demum ex parte baronum audivi fuisse petitum, scilicet quod cum status regis et regni a tempore quo bonæ memoriæ Edwardus rex senior diem clausit extremum valde declinasset in devium, ac per hoc totum regnum læderetur non modicum, petebant quod ex consensu et assensu domini regis et suorum baronum eligerentur duodecim viri discreti, bonæ opinionis et potentes, quorum arbitrio et decreto status reformaretur et consolidaretur; et si quid in regni gravamen redundaret, eorum ordinatio destrueret; si vel in aliquo casu regno esset prospectum, eorum discretione plenarie foret consultum.

A.D. 1310. March.

Deliberations of the lords.

Proposal to elect ordainers.

Rex igitur, super hiis habita deliberatione, quia videbantur sibi in quibusdam suspecta, diutius differebat inexpedita; sed barones unanimes viriliter instabant multa allegantes, plurima minantes, ac demum quasi uno ore in hiis residebant, dicentes quod, nisi rex petita concederet, jam non ipsum pro rege haberent, nec fidelitatem juratam sibi servarent, maxime cum ipse jusjurandum in sua coronatione præstitum non[1] servaret, cum in lege et naturali ratione caveatur, quod frangenti fidem fides frangatur eidem. Hiis et aliis allegatis rex, artiori habito consilio, cum videret rem jam in arto positam, nec sine discrimine vel scandalo necessitatem posse evitari, electiones, ordinationes et quicquid salvo honore regio pro communi utilitate regni crederent statuendum, expresse concessit, et scriptis sigillo suo roboratis confirmavit.

The lords insist on the appointment and threaten to withdraw their allegiance.

The king sanctions the election of the ordainers.

[1] *non*] om. MS.

A.D. 1310. March. Election of ordainers.

Electi sunt[1] igitur ordinatores de potentioribus et discretioribus totius regni, et tempus[2] jurisdictionis sive ordinationis faciendæ et publicandæ limitatum est. Quibus sub tali forma concessis et consilio finito secessit unusquisque ad propria.

The king summons the hosts for war against Scotland, for June 24.

Post paucos dies dominus rex de consilio suo Robertum de Brutz expugnare disposuit. Fecit enim edicto regio per totum regnum proclamari, quod videlicet omnes qui regi exercitum ducenti ad bellum certum patrocinium ferre tenebantur, die Sancti Johannis Baptistæ apud Berewyk super Twede præsto regi assisterent, debitum servitium et auxilium ibidem impensuri. Unde viri ecclesiastici, episcopi, abbates et priores, qui pro baroniis quas de rege tenebant in capite, et pro quibus ad diversa servitia domino regi ex fidelitate et homagio præstitis tenebantur[3] astricti, pro talibus oneribus præcipue[4] compensabant non modicum thesaurum, sed prout quisque convenire poterat cum thesauro, regis infundentes ærario.[5] Quidam autem comitum et baronum huic præcepto regis minime obtemperarunt. Comes enim Lincolniensis custodiam terræ a rege acceperat, iccirco venire non poterat; comes de Warewyk et alii barones, circa ordinationes prædictas occupati, quominus adessent fuerant impediti; comes vero de Lancastre, comes de Pembrok, et comes de Hereford, in odium Petri præ ceteris invecti regem in Scotiam non sunt secuti. Profectus est igitur rex, a tribus comitibus tantum comitatus, comite videlicet Glouverniæ, comite Warenniæ et comite Cornubiæ, qui vocatur Petrus. Alii

The clergy pay money.

Some of the lords disobey the summons, especially Warwick, Lancaster, Pembroke, and Hereford.

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[1] *Electi sunt*] The ordainers were elected March 20, 1310; and the number was twenty-one, not twelve as mentioned above; Parl. Writs, II. ii. 26.

[2] *tempus*] episcopis, MS.

[3] *tenebantur*] tenebatur, MS.

[4] *præcipue*] præcipuum, MS.

[5] *ærario*] errario, MS.

tamen barones et milites, et peditum turba copiosa Walensium et Anglicorum, qui animum ad quæstum habebant intentum, regem e vestigio sequebantur ad bellum. Revera, ut dicebatur, simulatum erat hoc regis opus et fictum; non enim accessit rex finaliter in Scotiam ut Robertum de Brutz expugnaret, sed ut mandatum regis Franciæ caute declinaret. Mandaverat enim rex Franciæ regi Angliæ, ut pro terris quas in partibus transmarinis ab ipso tenebat, veniret sibi ut domino suo fidelitatem facturus, ut pro eisdem terris debita et consueta servitia similiter impensurus. Sed timuit rex; coniciebat pro certo quod, si ad mandatum regis Franciæ explendum accederet, Petro suo in Anglia inter inimicos suos dimisso, mors, carcer, vel si quid deterius est, forsan eveniret. Talia prædicabantur in populo; si vera vel falsa sint, Deus scit,[1] nescio.

A.D. 1310. The expedition was a mere pretext, to excuse the king from going to France.

Intravit rex autem Scotiam cum exercitu suo, nullusque ei rebellis[2] inventus est, qui vel regi manum apponeret vel hominibus regis insidias pararet, nisi forsan contingeret aliquos de exercitu causa foragii vel prædæ capiendæ longius abscedere. Tunc enim Robertus de Brutz, qui in insidiis semper latebat, omne malum quod poterat eis inferebat. Nam quadam die, dum sic quidam Anglorum et Walensium, qui parati sunt ad prædam, causa deprædationis exissent, necnon et equites quamplurimi simul cum eis pro tutela ab exercitu discessissent, subito supervenerunt homines Roberti de Brutz, qui in speluncis et locis nemorosis latuerant, ac gravem insultum nostris hominibus dederunt. Videntes autem equites nostri quod eis[3] succurrere non possent, horrendo clamore ad exercitum reversi sunt; statimque prosilierunt omnes ad arma et ad succurrendum suis, inter hostes relictis, unanimiter properabant; sed sera fuit defensio quam nostrorum præcessit occisio. Nam "sero seram ponis stabulo post

Desultory warfare.

A foraging party surprised and overwhelmed.

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[1] *scit*] sit, MS.
[2] *rebellis*] rebelles, MS.
[3] *eis*] ei, MS.

A.D. 1310. Escape of the Scots. "furta latronis." Antequam enim milites nostri venirent, trucidati sunt de Walensibus et Anglicis usque ad trecentum animas, hostesque reversi sunt ad speluncas suas. Ex talibus insidiis frequenter invenerunt homines nostri multa mala. Robertus enim de Brutz, sciens se tam ex viribus quam ex fortuna sua regis Angliæ imparem, decrevit sibi magis expedire contra regem nostrum arma latenter movere quam in bello campestri de jure suo contendere. Revera dominum Robertum de Brutz affectarem laudibus extollere nisi reatus ho- Cod. 3. xxv. 1. micidii et nota proditionis cogeret me tacere; "reatus "autem excludit omnem honorem." Verumtamen quo jure regnum Scotiæ ad se pertinere contendit in brevibus apparebit. Post finem Alexandri regis Scotiæ, in dubium venerat quis ei deberet succedere, erantque duo vel tres quorum quilibet se verum et proximum heredem asseruit. Sed ex decreto magnatum utriusque regni Johannes[1] de Baillol ut[2] proximus heres Alexandro successit, quem rex Angliæ, debita servitia negantem et fidem non servantem, regno privavit, receptisque fidelitatibus et homagiis a magnatibus illius terræ regnum in brevi totum occupavit. Porro, Johanne de Bailiol excluso, Robertus de Brutz comes de Carryk jus succedendi ad se devolutum visus est vendicare, ac diadema sibi imponens contra regem et dominum suum cui fidelitatem præstiterat cervicem cœpit erigere, quem rex Edwardus cum exercitu suo diu persecutus est. Sed capto Willelmo Waleys, Symone[3] Frysel, Johanne de Arseles et aliis quampluribus, hic solus evasit, et mediante probitate et industria sua, decreto regis nostri suo tempore subici non potuit. Hic alter Æneas a captivitate Trojæ solus effugiens:

Explanation of the question of the Scottish succession.

Comparison of Bruce with Æneas.

Laudibus Ænea nisi crimina nota necarent
Attolli meruit sed eas mala tot macularunt.

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[1] *Johannes*] Johannis, MS.
[2] *ut*] et, MS.
[3] *Symone*] Symon, MS.

A.D. 1311. The king stays in the north until midsummer.

Perhendinavit itaque rex in Scotia per totam hiemem, et usque ad Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et castra sua ex omnibus necessariis muniri fecit et restaurari. Circuivitque per civitates, villas et castra, et omnium optinuit munitiones. Robertus autem de Brutz stetit a longe ut videret finem. Non enim in tali vicinio videbatur sibi locus esse securus, sed semper appropinquante exercitu tenebat loca montana invia aquosa, ad quæ non poterat talis exercitus faciliter pervenire. Et certe quamvis rex Angliæ tam brevi manu per septennium Scotiam obsideret, Robertum[1] de Brutz suo carceri nequaquam manciparet. Verum occupatus erat rex circa duo, unum circa expungnationem Roberti de Brutz, in quo remissius[2] agebat, pro eo quod major pars baronum Angliæ ad istud negotium non ferebat auxilium; aliud erat circa retentionem Petri de Gavestone, ad cujus expulsionem et exilium omnes fere barones Angliæ unanimiter laborabant. In hiis duobus rex anxius et satis afflictus unum ob aliud non est consecutus. Versus:

S. Matt. xxvi. 58.

Policy of Robert Bruce.

Double aims of the king.

> Nam qui binas lepores una sectabitur hora
> Uno quandoque, quandoque carebit utroque.

Explanation of Gaveston's unpopularity.

Quæret autem aliquis unde tantam indignationem baronum meruerat Petrus; quæ causa odii, quid seminarium iræ et invidiæ extiterit, vehementer forsan admirabitur, cum in omnium fere magnatum domibus optentum sit hodie ut unus aliquis de familia dominicæ dilectionis gaudeat prærogativa. Sane ut reprobatio unius alios instruat, et ruina reprobati ad aliorum cedat documentum, causas odii et invidiæ pro posse meo curabo exprimere.

His parentage.

Hic Petrus a Wasconia oriundus filius fuit cujusdam militis regis Edwardi senioris quondam familiaris. Dum autem Edwardus junior adhuc esset princeps

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[1] *Robertum*] Roberto, MS. | [2] *remissius*] remissus, MS.

A.D. 1311. Gaveston's rise and pride.

Walliæ, dictus Petrus armiger juvenis in familiarem domus ejus assumptus est, et grata exhibitione[1] obsequiorum apud dominum suum summi favoris apicem optinuit in brevi. Et, ut paucis verbis multa concludam, rex noster, cum mortuo patre suo regnum Angliæ jam esset adeptus, Petrum de Gavestone comitem fecit Cornubiæ. Sed Petrus jam comes Cornubiæ olim se fuisse Petrum et humilem armigerum noluit intelligere. Nullum suum comitem, nullum suum parem reputabat Petrus nisi solum regem. Revera vultus ejus majorem reverentiam exigebat quam regis. Erat igitur baronibus fastus ejus intollerabilis et prima causa odii simul et rancoris. Nam vulgariter dicitur,

Si tibi copia, si sapientia, formaque detur,
Sola superbia destruet omnia si comitetur.

The king's infatuation.

Credo igitur et constanter teneo quia, si Petrus ab initio prudenter et humiliter erga magnates terræ se gessisset, nunquam eorum aliquem sibi contrarium habuisset. Erat enim causa odii secundaria hæc, quod cum ab antiquo omnibus desiderabile[2] exstiterit habere gratiam in oculis regum, solus Petrus gratiam et vultum hilarem regis habuit et favorem, in tantum ut, si comes vel baro colloquium habiturus cum rege cameram regis intraret, in præsentia Petri nulli rex verba dirigebat, nulli faciem hilarem ostendebat, nisi soli Petro. Et revera ex talibus frequenter oriri solet invidia. Sane non memini me audisse unum alterum ita dilexisse. Jonathas dilexit David, Achilles Patroclum amavit; sed illi modum excessisse non leguntur. Modum[3] autem dilectionis rex noster habere non potuit, et propter eum sui oblitus esse diceretur, et ob hoc Petrus maleficus putaretur esse.

Causa autem quare a comitatu Cornubiæ nitebantur eum expellere fuit hæc. Dominus Edwardus rex senior

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[1] *exhibitione*] exhibutione, MS.
[2] *desiderabile*] desiderabilem, MS.
[3] *Modum*] Modus, MS.

uni ex filiis suis Thomæ vel Edmundo comitatum Cornubiæ contulisse decreverat; sed mors amara præveniens factum quod erat conveniens fecit imperfectum. Unde barones junioris regis ingratitudinem videntes, quia ignotum noto, extraneum germano, et advenam incolæ conabatur præferre, dominum illegitimum, comitem superbum, velle consilio prævium, nisi sunt mittere in exterminium. Hiis maxime causis excitata erat contra Petrum indignatio baronum; et Petrus nihilominus magnanimus, tumidus et elatus permansit. Sed vereor ne superbia in ruinam et præcipitium ipsum devolvat; scriptum est enim, ante ruinam exaltabitur cor; ille qui in altis habitat et humilia respicit superbiam super omnia detestatur. Hæc Luciferum miræ claritudinis angelum[1] ad yma dejecit; hæc reginam Vasti a solio regni similiter abjecit; nec mirum si in superbia sua nec Deo nec homini foret acceptus. Nam in superbia et in abusione sublimes oculos distorquens in fastum, quadam pomposa et superciliosa facie despexit universos, et omnia quasi pro imperio agens magnates terræ, quibus necessarius[2] esse non potuit quin eorum auxilio magis indigeret, vix aliquando et indignantissime respexit. Et certe in filio regis satis esset intollerabile supercilium quod prætendit. Publice tamen scitur quod non erat filius regis nec regalem prosapiam quicquid attingens.

A.D. 1311. Objection to Gaveston's promotion to the earldom of Cornwall.

Prov. xvi. 18.

Esther, i. 12.

His intolerable pride.

Imminente festivitate Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, conveniunt Londoniis ordinatores, quibus anno præterito commissa fuit potestas ordinandi, corrigendi et ad meliorem statum reducendi, si quid contra leges regni vel in commune dispendium fuisset attemptatum. Potestas enim eorum limitem habuit proximum futurum festum Sancti Michaelis. Ut ergo antequam exspiraret eorum juredictio, statuta et ordinata per eos in publicum venirent, vocaverunt dominum regem et alios

June. The ordainers meet at London, and invite the king to confirm the Ordinances.

[1] *angelum*] angelorum, MS.

[2] *necessarius*] necessariis, MS.

A.D. 1311. The king comes to Blackfriars, but goes to Canterbury, and returns in August.

magnates terræ ut coram eis recitata vel infirmarentur vel approbarentur. "Quod enim omnes tangit ab omnibus debet approbari." Recessit igitur rex a Scotia, et venit Londonias, et apud fratres Prædicatores hospitio se recepit. Cum quidam autem procerum moram facerent, sine quorum præsentia res expediri non posset, dominus rex sacra loca visitare Cantuariam proficiscitur, ac demum circa finem mensis Augusti revertitur. Cod. 5. lix. 5.

His reluctance to confirm the Ordinances,

Omnibus itaque quorum interesse vertebatur adunatis, profertur in medium labor annalis, et capitula singillatim recitantur, et regis consiliariis copia porrigitur. Rex autem de consilio suo quædam sibi incommoda, quædam in odium suum adinventa protestatur, et se hiis assensum præbere non teneri arguit et causatur, cum in commissione concessa regia majestas fuisset excepta.[1] Sciebant tamen barones regis excusationes frivolas esse et fictas et ad exquirendas dilationes semper intentas; unde et ipsi viriliter instabant, et cum omnium incommodo regis magis commodum compensabant. Fuit autem inter ordinationes illas una quædam quæ magis inter ceteras regem affligebat, videlicet expulsio Petri de Gavestone et ejus exilium; sed rex ad hoc nullo sensu inclinari potuit vel induci. Ut tamen baronibus satisfaceret hoc offerebat; quæcunque, inquit, ordinata sunt, quæcunque statuta, quantumcunque in meum privatum incommodum redundent, ad petitionem vestram valeant atque perpetuo subsistant. Verum a persecutione fratris mei Petri desistatis, et comitatum Cornubiæ habere permittatis. Hoc sæpe et sæpius petebat sic rex, nunc illos blanditiis palpans, nunc autem minas adjiciens; sed barones viriliter instabant, plurima allegantes ut fideles regis regi consulentes, ac demum, quasi uno animo et una voce, hoc in calce sermonis adiciebant, quod aut Petrus

especially the article against Gaveston.

The ultimatum of the ordainers.

[1] *excepta*] eccepta, MS.

juxta arbitrium ordinatorum exilium subiret, aut unusquisque de capite proprio defendendo sibi consuleret. Videntes igitur hii qui de consilio regis erant quod, si dominus rex ordinatorum decretis et placitis non acquiesceret, turbaretur regnum et pacis sequeretur exilium; scientes etiam quod civile bellum nunquam finem habuisset acceptum, de quo bellum de Lewes manifestum reliquit exemplum et bellum de Evesham æternam servabat memoriam, in quo pro tempore justitiæ nobilis ille comes Leycestriæ Symon occubuit; considerabant etiam quam dura inter regem et barones suos et quam periculosa foret dissensio, quod totius terræ sequeretur desolatio, quod inter dubios eventus vix evitaretur regis captio, et, sicut Roboam qui consilium seniorum respuens consilio juvenum adhæsit, incaute solio forsan privaretur et regno; hæc et hiis similia considerantes qui consulares regis esse dicebantur, attentius instare cœperunt pro regno, pro populo, pro semetipso regem interpellantes, quatinus suorum dignaretur[1] acceptare consilium, inevitabile protestantes evenire periculum quod sibi et suis perpetuum afferret obprobrium, nisi decretis baronum assentiret, nisi ordinationes eorum sine fraude concederet.

A.D. 1311. The king's advisers, in order to avoid a civil war, press him to yield.

1 Chron. xii. 13.

Rex igitur, suorum monitis et precibus inductus, ordinationes, provisiones et statuta, quocunque nomine censeantur, pro se et suis successoribus inviolabiliter et in perpetuum rata teneri consensit. Directa est igitur copia ordinationum sub magno sigillo ad quemlibet comitatum, et ibidem publice proclamantur, et ab omnibus proclamari præcipiuntur. Quas hic ideo interserere nolui, quia seriem hujus materiæ rescinderem[2] vel fastidium legentibus afferrem:[3] sed, si quis eas sibi dixerit ignotas, inter alia statuta suo loco reperiet insertas. Verum quia ordinatio illa quæ Pe-

He confirms the Ordinances.

Copies circulated.

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[1] *dignaretur*] digneretur, MS.
[2] *rescinderem*] rescindere, MS.
[3] *afferrem*] auferrem, MS.

A.D. 1311. Importance of the article against Gaveston.

trum de Gavestone ejecit ab Anglia pluribusque inter alias magis videbatur accepta, inspicientes enim ordinationes statim ad illam recursum habebant, cum tamen in ordine prima non esset, sed decimum vel ulteriorem locum optineret; et ut ipsa ordinatione perlecta manifeste appareat ipsius exilii causa, iccirco in hac meæ narrationis serie, quia multum concordat materiæ statutum illud, de verbo ad verbum prout fuerat in audientia publicatum, interserui sub forma quæ sequitur:—

A copy of the Twentieth Ordinance.

"Quia notum est[1] et per examinationem prælatorum, co-"mitum, baronum, militum et aliorum bonorum et legalium "hominum regni repertum, quod Petrus de Gavestone domi-"num regem male duxit, domino regi male consuluit,[2] et "ipsum ad male faciendum deceptorie et multiformiter in-"duxit, contractando sibi totum thesaurum regis, quem "etiam extra regnum elongavit; attrahendo sibi homines "qui secum morarentur contra omnes gentes, et per the-"saurum regis quem sic adquisivit, de die in diem domi-"nando supra statum regis et coronæ in destructione "regis et regni; specialiter elongando cor domini regis a "suis legiis hominibus, consilia eorum despiciendo, bonos "ministros legem facere non permittendo et bonos ministros "amovendo, tales autem de sua familiaritate, tam alienige-"nas quam alios constituendo, qui ad suum præceptum et "velle justitiam offendunt [et] legem terræ, acceptando terras "et tenementa contra suum homagium de corona, nedum "ante ordinationes ad profectum regis et regni ab ordi-"natoribus concessas sed etiam post, contra dictorum ordi-"natorum provisiones et decreta.

"Sustinet etiam prædones et homicidas ipsisque cartas "domini regis de pace adquirit, et sic aliis malefactoribus "magis delinquendi præbet audaciam. Conducit regem in "terram guerræ sine communi assensu suorum baronum, in "periculum regis et destructionem regni; albas cartas sub "magno sigillo regis facit consignari in captionem et ex-"heredationem regis et coronæ; et callide false et prodi-

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[1] *Quia notum est*] This is a Latin translation of the 20th Ordinance; see Statutes of the Realm, i. 162.

[2] *consuluit*] consiluit, MS.

" torio fecit hæc omnia prædicta in magnum dedecus[1] et " dampnum regni, exheredationem coronæ, in destructionem " populi multimode; A.D. 1311. Copy of the Ordinance against Gaveston.

" Insuper habentes respectum ad facta nobilissimi regis " patris domini nostri regis qui nunc est, [cujus] edicto " dictus Petrus regnum Angliæ abjuravit et exulavit, qui et " voluit quod dominus noster rex filius suus pro omni " tempore societatem illius abjurasset;

" Inspicientes etiam quod postea communi assensu totius " regni pariter et regis prospectum erat, quod Petrus idem " regnum evacuaret, et evacuavit, et quod per communem " assensum non rediit, sed dumtaxat per consensum aliquo- " rum, qui sub conditione, si post regressum suum bene se " gereret, ad hoc consentiebant; et nunc certissime repertus " est male gessisse;—

" Quamobrem et propter sua malefacta prædicta, et propter " alia quæ verisimiliter domino regi et populo contingere " possent, et ad bonam concordiam inter dominum regem et " suos subditos nutriendam et multimodas discordias et peri- " cula evitanda, nos ordinatores, ut ordinatores et virtute " dictæ commissionis regiæ, concessimus quod Petrus de " Gavestone, tanquam publicus hostis regis et regni, a regno " penitus eiciatur et exuletur, nedum ab Anglia sed etiam " Wallia, Scotia, Hybernia, Wasconia, et ab omni terra tam " ultra mare quam citra mare dominationi regis Angliæ sub- " jecta, pro omni die et sine reditu. Et quod citra festum " Omnium Sanctorum proxime futurum regnum Angliæ et " omne regis[2] dominium relinquat et penitus evacuet, et " portum apud Dovere sibi damus in forma prædicta. Nec " liceat sibi alibi terram exire vel in alio sinu maris portum " arripere. Et si dictus Petrus in regno Angliæ vel alibi " in dominio regis nostri ultra statutum diem faciat moram, " extunc fiat de ipso tanquam de inimico regni, regis et " populi. Et quicunque contra hanc ordinationem venerit, " ad tardationem dicti exilii, fiat de ipsis prout visum fuerit " expedire cum super hoc fuerint convicti." Sentence against him.

Et Petri quidem exilium ex decreto ordinatorum sic erat.

Post festum Omnium Sanctorum, quia rex ordinationibus baronum stare juraverat, Petrum in exilium

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[1] *dedecus*] dedicus, MS.

[2] omne regnum domū, Hearne.

A.D. 1311. November. Gaveston goes into exile with testimonial letters from the king and others.

ire disposuit, quia in brevi satis competenter sibi providere disposuit. Antequam tamen Petrus terram Angliæ egrederetur, de consilio quorundam qui parti suæ adhærebant, litteras regis bonæ conversationis et fidelitatis testimoniales a rege impetravit et optinuit; et hiis litteris rex sigillum suum apposuit, et multi magnates similiter fecerunt, qui magis reprehensione digni quam ex hoc facto laudandi fuerunt. Inter quos comes Gloucestriæ Gilbertus, juvenis et precibus regis inductus, prædictis litteris testimonium præbuit. Nam et illas sigillo suo roboravit, sed postea saniori ductus consilio, et prætextu minoris ætatis excusatus, errorem suum revocavit, et impressionem sigilli sui a litteris illis extorsit.

He goes to Flanders.

Petrus igitur tali testimonio munitus clam propter adversarios secessit in Flandriam, omni fere populo ignorante ad quas partes divertisset. Post hæc comites juxta ordinationes domini regis ulterius disponere volentes, complices et fautores Petri a curia regis sub pœna incarcerationis recedere decreverunt, ne et ipsi animum regem ad revocandum Petrum de cetero instigarent. Ad hæc rex ultra modum commotus, quod nec unum familiarem juxta proprium votum retinere sibi liceret, sed sicut providetur fatuo, totius domus suæ ordinatio ex alieno dependeret arbitrio, in odio comitum revocavit Petrum, per animam Dei jurans ex solito quod libere proprio uteretur arbitrio.

His partizans banished from court.

The king's indignation.

Gaveston returns again, secretly.

Et Petrus quidem ad regis mandatum statim reversus est in Angliam, quia regem Franciæ suspectum habebat, per Flandriam. Sed quamvis periculosa sibi foret Francia, periculosior futura sibi fuit Anglia. Evenit enim sibi quod quidam ait,

"Incidit in Scillam cupiens vitare Caribdim."

He goes to York with the king.

Reversus igitur Petrus caute ambulabat, et nunc in camera regis, nunc apud Walyngford, nunc in castello de Tyntagel latere putabatur. Cum autem appropinquaret Natale Domini dominus rex et Petrus ad partes boriales sunt profecti, et apud Eboracum festa

natalitia celebrarunt. Et dominus rex studiose indies cum omni consilio suo de statu Petri et pace tractabat; et quia non erat Petro tutus locus in Anglia, Hibernia, Wallia, Wasconia nec Francia, de mora Petri tractare disposuit in Scotia, donec impetus baronum cessaret, vel Petro decentius et alibi provideret; sed inane studium vix habuit initium. Cum enim Robertus de Brutz de fidelitate Petro servanda et conditione pacis requireretur et invitaretur; cum etiam sibi multa offerrentur[1] ac demum ipsum regnum[2] Scotiæ tranquille et imperpetuo domino Roberto permitteretur, hoc modo regis mandato fertur respondisse, "Quomodo "rex Angliæ pactum mihi servaret, qui legiis suis "hominibus, quorum fidelitatem et homagia recepit, "quibus etiam mutuo fidem servare tenetur, promissa "etiam juramento vallata non custodit? Non est ad-"hibenda fides homini tam vario: non me decipiet "sua promissio." Sic cassata spes regia, sic eluduntur regis promissa.

A.D. 1312. The king's anxiety for his safety.

He negotiates with Bruce, who declines to trust him.

Audientes autem comites et pro certo jam scientes quod rediisset Petrus, videntes autem quod non procederet ordinatio quam statuerant circa eum, congregati sunt cum primate[3] suo Roberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Et primas quidem,[4] sicut erat spiritu fervens et pacem regni zelans, gladium suum arripuit et Petrum anathemate percussit, ut sic lata sententia evacuaretur gratia; nam qui juste ligatur raro efficaciter operatur. Et barones ex parte sua non minus laborant ad quærendum remedia, fueruntque ad defensionem ordinationum principaliter intenti et invicem jurejurando similiter astricti comites subscripti; Thomas comes Lancastriæ, Adolmarus comes Penbroke, Humfridus comes Herfordiæ, Edmundus comes de Arundel, et Gwydo comes Warewyke. Hii quinque

The archbishop publishes a sentence of excommunication against Gaveston.

League of the earls against him.

[1] *offerrentur*] offerentur, MS.
[2] *regnum*] regem, Hearne.
[3] *primate*] primato, MS.
[4] *quidem*] quid, MS.

A.D. 1312. Their conspiracy against him.

comites armis strenui, genere præclari, et copiosa armatorum multitudine vallati, circa captionem Petri unanimiter consultant. Quid autem in illo consilio fuerit decretum vel quibus insidiis molirentur in Petrum diu quidem latuit; sed quid ibidem actum fuerit ex post factis satis apparuit; et caute quidem et provide actum, ut ita lateret eorum propositum ne divulgata intentio immunem præstaret in vitio.[1] Secesserunt igitur comites ab invicem unusquisque in viam suam, et comes Gloucestriæ, quamvis in hoc proposito socius non esset, ratum tamen habere promisit quicquid comites facerent, quicquid in hac expeditione disponerent. Comes autem Lancastriæ ad partes boriales se transtulit, et ceteri comites, ne ex visu armorum terreretur provincia, fecerunt per diversa loca proclamari torneamenta, ut sub tali prætextu colligerent quos sibi necessarios esse, et sic moverunt se de loco ad locum donec transirent Eboracum, et comes Lancastriæ circa solis occasum aggressus est iter suum.

Complicity of the earl of Gloucester.

Policy of Lancaster.

Sic Thomas de nocte volat, sub luce moratur,
Ut lateat, modicum cursum ne fama loquatur;

et hac cautela nisus ad Novum Castrum subito venit et inprovisus, ubi dextrarii et magni caballi ipsius Petri vel verius domini regis morabantur. Erat etiam ibidem copiosa multitudo armorum, in quibus erat fiducia[2] Petri defendendi et resistendi se. Sed hæc omnia cepit comes, et custodibus ejectis suis hominibus et hæc omnia custodienda mandavit, ut regis erant fideliter restituerentur et regi.

Gaveston's horses and arms seized by Lancaster at Newcastle.

The tactics of Lancaster.

Accidit itaque modicum post hæc ut dominus rex et Petrus ab invicem separarentur; unus apud Scardeburghe, alter apud Knaresbrugg morabatur. Quod cum perpendisset comes Lancastriæ, disposuit se in medio esse ne unus ad alterum posset habere regressum, et ceteri comitum interim obsiderent Petrum.

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[1] *in vitio*] innicio, MS. | [2] *fiducia*] fudicia, MS.

Cum igitur videret Petrus obsidionem jam cœptam, auxilium regis interceptum, castrum victualibus destitutum et socios minus sufficientes ad bellum, misit ad comitem Penbrokiæ se reddere volens sub conditione; et erat conditio hæc videlicet quod dictus comes Petrum usque ad gulam Augusti servaret illæsum, et, si placeret ei quod interim comites disponerent, bene quidem; sin autem, restitueretur in pristinum statum, scilicet ad castrum unde exierat et ad sororem quam prius reliquerat.[1]

A.D. 1312. May. Conditional surrender of Gaveston.

Comes autem de hac captione gavisus, sociis inconsultis, immo ex proprio capite sumpto consilio, cepit Petrum, et placuit conditio, et ad Petrum servandum sub forma prædicta obligavit regi terras et tenementa. Nam et hujus rex conscius erat, quia de consilio regis res ipsa prodierat; speravit enim ante prædictum terminum sufficiens præstare Petro subsidium: quia si Petrus exspectasset Augustum, ad libitum, ut dicitur, rediisset arbitrium. Nam papa et rex Franciæ ordinassent remedium, quia rex Angliæ donasset Wasconiam eis in feodum.

The surrender accepted and approved by the king.

Comes igitur Adolmarus cum vinculato suo Petro recessit a borea, ad Angliæ[2] tendens interiora, et cum circiter quinque dietas vel amplius peregisset, tandem in comitatum[3] Northamtoniensem deveniens, vocato Petro dixit, "Fatigatus es ex itinere, et opus esset tibi "recreatione; est autem hic juxta villa modica, locus "amœnus et ampla ædificia. Ego vero [circa] quædam "negotia ad tempus recedam; ibidem morare donec "veniam." Et Petrus quod comes optulit gratanter accepit; et misit eum ad dictam villam cum custodia; sed non vidit comes Petrum amplius in Anglia.

The earl of Pembroke leaves Gaveston in Northamptonshire.

Cum autem didicisset comes Warewykyæ omnia quæ agebantur circa Petrum, accepta manu valida,

The earl of Warwick's proceedings.

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[1] *reliquerat*] relinquerat, MS.
[2] *Angliæ*] Angliam, MS.
[3] *comitatum*] comitatu, MS.

A.D. 1312. June. He arrests Gaveston.

accita etiam tota patria, clam tendit ad locum ubi cognovit esse Petrum, et valde mane una sabbatorum veniens ad villam intravit portam curiæ et circumdedit cameram. Exclamavit autem comes voce magna, "Surge proditor, captus es." Et Petrus audiens comitem, videns etiam manum comitis superiorem et custodiam cui deputatus non resistentem, induens vestimenta sua descendit de camera. Capitur igitur Petrus et non sicut comes, immo sicut latro, producitur; et qui solebat palfridos ascendere jam pedes cogitur ire. S. Mark xvi. 2.

He is brought to Warwick and imprisoned there.

Cum autem transissent a villa ad modicum jussit comes præberi Petro jumentum ut eo velocius maturaret iter suum. Et[1] Petrum sequebantur cornua tonantia, populus clamans et vox horrida. Jam Petrus deposuit cingulum militiæ, sicut fur et proditor tendit Warewykyæ, et ibidem veniens mittitur in carcerem. Modo suis vinculis Petrum subjugavit quem canem Warewyk Petrus appellavit.

The earl of Pembroke intercedes with the earl of Gloucester.

Et Petrus quidem servabatur in carcere, oratio autem fiebat sine dilatione ab Adolmaro comite ad barones pro eo. Statim enim ut cognovit captum esse Petrum, accessit ad comitem Gloverniæ plorans et orans quatenus injuriam sibi illatam vindicaret, et Petrum omnimodo sibi restitueret. Addidit etiam quod, nisi comes succurreret, obprobrium sempiternum subiret, et terras quas obligaverat amitteret. Et comes Gloverniæ ita fertur respondisse, "Domine comes, injuria "tibi illata comiti Guydoni non est imputanda. Quod "enim fecit consilio et auxilio nostro fecit; et si, ut "tu dicis, terras tuas obligasti, ipsas utique perdidisti. "Nichil ergo ulterioris restat consilii nisi ut discas "alias cautius negotiari." Comes autem, ut vidit preces suas sic esse repulsas, confusus abscessit et venit apud Oxoniam: congregatæ universitati clericorum ostendit causam suam, et transcriptum obliga- Acts xii. 5.

Gloucester's answer.

Pembroke lays the case before the University of Oxford.

[1] *Et*] et, ins. MS.

tionis legi fecit coram omnibus clericis et burgensibus similiter adunatis, deposuit querelam coram eis, ut vel sic ad recuperandum Petrum consilium communicarent et auxilium, vel ut justitiam suam ostenderet ne quis forsan de se aliter præsumeret. Habebatur enim apud quosdam suspectus, quasi in captione Petri tam durum peccatum dolo confirmasset, ut Petrum facilius morti traderet quem longa obsidione forsan non cepisset. Sed nec clerici nec burgenses rem ad se non pertinentem tractare vel attemptare curabant.

A.D. 1312. June. Suspicions entertained.

The people of Oxford decline to interfere.

Altera autem die non longe post captionem Petri, reliqui comites Warewykyæ conveniunt, et de morte Petri tractantes sic tandem diffiniunt, quod propter affinitatem comitis Gloverniæ nec ut fur suspenderetur nec ut proditor protraheretur, sed sicut nobilis et civis Romanus capitalem pœnam pateretur. Comes autem Warewykyæ acutum nuntium emisit ad Petrum, mandans ei ut consuleret animæ suæ, quia hæc foret dies ultima quam visurus esset in terra. Et nuntius accelerans mandatum statim accessit ad Petrum: "Consule," inquit, "tibi, domine, quia morte morieris "hac die." Et Petrus, ubi nomen mortis audivit, modicum suspirans ingemuit; "O," inquit, "ubi sunt dona "mea quibus tot familiares amicos acquisieram, et "quibus potestatem sufficientem habuisse putaveram? "Ubi sunt amici mei, in quibus erat fiducia[1] mea, "corporis tutela et tota salutis substantia; quorum "juventus valida, probitas invicta et virtus ad ardua "semper accensa? qui etiam in bello pro me stare, "carcerem intrare, et mortem promiserant non vitare. "Certe superbia mea, elatio quam nutrivit eorum una "promissio, regis favor et regis curia, duxerunt me "in hæc tædia. Non habeo subsidium, vacat omne "remedium, fiat voluntas comitum."

Gaveston condemned in a meeting of the earls.

His lamentation at the news.

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[1] *fiducia*] fudicia, MS.

A.D. 1312. June 19. He prays for mercy to Lancaster, who sends him to execution.

Circa horam tertiam[1] educitur Petrus de carcere; et comes de Warewyk Petrum vinculatum reliquit comiti Lancastriæ, et Petrus, ut comitem illum vidit, procidens in terram oravit dicens, "Generose comes, " miserere mei." Et comes, "Tolle," inquit, "tolle eum, " per Deum perducetur." Et qui viderunt lacrymas continere non potuerunt. Quis enim continere se posset cum videret Petrum, nuper gloriose[2] militantem, nunc autem misericordiam in tam flebili fine petentem. Eductus Petrus de castro properavit ad locum ubi passurus erat supplicium; et ceteri comites sequebantur a longe ut viderent finem, nisi quod comes Guydo remansit in castro suo. S. Matt. xxvi. 58.

He is beheaded.

Cum autem venissent ad locum qui Blakelowe dicitur, pertinens ad comitem Lancastriæ, missus quidam a comitis latere jussit Petrum in prædicto loco remanere; et statim jussu comitis traditus est Walensibus duobus, de quibus transfodit hic corpus, amputavit ille caput. Et nuntiatum est comiti quod res sic se haberet.[3] Ille autem non credidit donec caput ipse videret; et post rem sic consummatam reversi sunt comites in viam suam. Fratres autem Jacobini collegerunt[4] Petrum, et caput corpori consuentes detulerunt illud Oxoniam; sed quia innodatus erat sententia non sunt ausi sepelire corpus in ecclesia.

His head brought to the earl of Lancaster.

His body taken to Oxford.

Exitus hic Petri qui, dum conscendit in altum,
Labitur in nihilum qui fuit ante nichil.

A warning to courtiers.

Ecce Petrus nuper in aula regis ceteris nobilior, nunc propter importunitatem sui gestus jussu comitis Lancastriæ jacet decollatus.[5] Videant amodo curiales Anglici ne, de regio favore confisi, barones despiciant. Sunt enim membrum regis principale, sine quo nil grande poterit rex aggredi vel consummare. Ergo qui

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[1] June 19; Cont. Trivet, ed. Hall, p. 9.

[2] *gloriose*] gloriosa, MS.

[3] *haberet*] habere, MS.

[4] *collegerunt*] colligerunt, MS.

[5] *decollatus*] decolatus, MS.

barones parvipendunt regem utique contempnunt et læsæ majestatis se reos ostendunt. A.D. 1312. June.

Sed quare jussu comitis Lancastriæ occiditur Petrus magis quam aliorum comitum dubitabit aliquis in posterum. Sciat autem in occisione Petri comites Angliæ arduum negotium assumpsisse, nec diebus nostris aliquando simile contigisse. Occiderunt enim magnum comitem quem rex adoptaverat in fratrem, quem rex dilexit ut filium, quem rex habuit in socium et amicum. Opus ergo erat ut ille magnus esset qui tale factum defenderet. Unde Thomas comes Lancastriæ, sicut omnibus generosior, ita et ceteris potentior, periculum hujus rei in se assumpsit, et Petrum post tria exilia, quasi post tres monitiones legittimas, non obtemperantem, occidi mandavit.

Great importance of the act.

Lancaster put forward as the author of it.

Hic comes Thomas dominum regem in secundo gradu consanguinitatis contingebat, utpote qui ex duobus fratribus qui primum faciunt gradum descendebant, ex rege scilicet Edwardo seniore et fratre ejus Edmundo comite Lancastriæ. Mater ejus erat regina Navariæ, et soror ejus regina Franciæ, et filia sororis suæ regina nunc est Angliæ. Sic utroque parente regios habens natales generosior apparet quam ceteri comites. Per vires patrimonii potentiam ejus attendere potes. Habebat enim quinque comitatus in Anglia, videlicet comitatum Lancastriæ, Leycestriæ, et comitatum de Ferers ex parte patris; comitatum Lyncolniæ et Saresburiæ ex parte uxoris. Ecce dominatio tot comitatuum olim nobilium redigitur in unum. Potest nunc solus Thomas quod aliquando comes Edmundus, dominus de Longespeye, dominus de Lacy, et dominus de Ferers singillatim potuerunt. Nec credo ducem vel comitem, sub imperio Romano militantem, de terrarum proventibus tantum facere posse quantum Thomas comes Lancastriæ.

Descent and great position of the earl of Lancaster.

His five earldoms.

Post consummationem Petri, cum vox publica mortem ejus auribus singulorum inculcasset, lætata est

A.D. 1312. Joy at the fall of Gaveston.

terra, gavisi sunt omnes habitantes in ea. Confidenter dicam mortem unius hominis, nisi gravasset rem publicam, nunquam antea tot et tantis gratanter acceptam. Gaudet terra, gaudent incolæ, Petro mortuo pacem invenisse: soli familiares ejus, et maxime quos ipse promoverat, mortem domini sui ægre ferebant. Nam multa multis contulit, de stabulo ad cameram quosdam ascendere fecit, de quibus quidam militant qui nunquam militasse decreverant; et ut paucis multa concludam,

De causa Petri gaudent omnes inimici,
Atque dolent pauci nisi qui sunt ejus amici.

Confederacy of the earls at Worcester.

Post tres pluresve dies conveniunt Wygorniæ prædicti comites, ut de prædictis tractarent et adversus futura consulerent. Sciebant enim quod, cum res in regis veniret notitiam, tanquam ob illatam sibi injuriam, si liceret ei, procederet ad vindictam. Iccirco caute et provide inter eos prospectum est, quod, si processum eorum jure tueri[1] non possent, saltem se et sua armorum suffragiis unanimiter defenderent. Nam vim vi repellere lege permittitur, et quod quis ad tutelam sui fecerit jure fecisse videtur.

The king's utterances on receipt of the news.

Postquam notificatum est autem regi quod mortuus est Petrus, contristatus valde condoluit, et post modicum astantibus dixit: "Per animam Dei, ut fatuus egit. "Nam de consilio meo ad manus comitum nunquam "pervenit. Hoc[2] est quod semper inhibui. Nam et "quæ nunc facta sunt prius quam fierent excogitavi. "Quid sibi fuit de comite de Warewyk, quem con-"stat Petrum nunquam dilexisse? Sciebam certe quod, "si eum apprehenderet, de manibus ejus nunquam "evaderet." Hoc verbum regis leviter prolatum, cum tandem deveniret in publicum, plures excitavit [ad] risum. Sed certus sum regem ita doluisse de Petro, sicut aliquando dolet pater de filio. Nam quanto magis procedit dilectio, tanto magis dolet infortunio. In

[1] *tueri*] teneri, MS. | [2] *Hoc*] Hæc, MS.

planctu[1] David super Jonatan amor ostenditur, quem dicitur super amorem mulierum dilexisse. Fatetur et sic rex noster; superaddit dum mortem Petri vindicare disposuit. Nam accitis consiliariis suis quærit consilium quid super istis foret agendum, ratum tamen habens propositum illos destruere qui occiderunt Petrum. Et erat cum rege comes Penbrokyæ, cujus intererat comites debellare, et dominus Hugo le Despenser apud regem latuit, qui plus quam Petrus forte demeruit. Henricus de Beaumount adhuc est in curia, qui juxta ordinationes recedere debuisset ab illa; Edmundus de Maulee et alii milites qui nuper fuerunt Petri familiares. Hii siquidem regem instigabant ut ex fidelibus suis exercitum colligeret, et adversarios suos audacter impeteret. Nam triumphum secure reportaret ex quo pro jure suo legitime tractaret. Addunt etiam infideles vincere non posse, quos constat domino suo fidem non servare; protestantes a sæculo inauditum simile delictum in aliquem regem esse commissum, et cum pro quovis crimine minori[2] possit satisfieri, crimen læsæ majestatis non poterit purgari. Alii vero sanioris consilii, bene scientes futura metiri,[3] nullo sensu præbebant assensum, ut rex cum baronibus iniret conflictum. Nam si rex caperetur hoc foret absurdum; nec regi proficeret destructio[4] comitum, maxime cum Robertus de Brutz jam totam Scotiam occupaverat, et terram Northumbrorum ad tributum compulerit; plus expediret terram defendere quam terræ defensores velle destruere. Placuit tamen regi prius consilium, quia magis secessit[5] ad votum suum; quod enim juxta velle consulitur frequenter apud homines magis acceptatur. Ad hoc etiam naturaliter regem inducebat indignatio quam contra comites pro morte Petri conceperat; magnanimitas in paucis ex-

A.D. 1312.

2 Sam. i. 26.

His real grief and purpose of revenge.

Rex proponit vindictam.

He forms a party against the earls.

Moderate counsels.

The king prefers the more violent course.

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[1] *planctu*] plactu, MS.
[2] *crimine minori*] crimior̄, MS.
[3] *metiri*] meturi, MS.
[4] *destructio*] distructio, MS.
[5] *secessit*] se gessit, Hearne.

A.D. 1312. Apprehensions of the other favourites.

perta, et suggestio malorum hominum nimis assidua. Nam hii qui post mortem Petri ad regem confugerant, guerram magis quam pacem procurabant. Timebant enim quod, si rex placitis baronum adquiesceret, hoc in dampnum eorum forsan redundaret. Semper enim trepidat qui sibi conscius exstat.

Reflexions on flattery.

Certe adulatorum figmenta milites decipiunt et ad finem desperatum frequenter perducunt. Bene cum magnatibus ageretur, si verum a falso discernerent, si simulationes a vero judicio separarent. Sed nescio qua depravatione naturæ aures divitum delicatæ gratius acceptant mendacis linguæ blandicias quam apertæ testimonium veritatis. Nam juxta poetam,

> Cum quis adulator facilem placaverit[1] aurem,
> Continuo cunctos superat cum vera loquentur.

Its prevalence at court.

Hujus pestis detestanda frequentia hodie nimis regnat in curia.

The king's purpose of vengeance.

Rex igitur noster in ultionem Petri quosdam de baronibus impugnare proponit; nam comitem Warewyk aut capite privabit aut bonis confiscatis perpetuo deportabit. Milites vocat ad arma, milites conducit in castra, forestarios et sagittarios congregat, pedites in expeditionem pugnæ venire procurat.

Warlike preparations for parliament.

Interim autem barones et comites ad parliamentum[2] suum publico citavit edicto. Ipsi vero, propriæ salutis non inmemores, ad parendum regis mandato hoc modo se præparant. Comes Lancastriæ mille loricatos, mille et quingentos pedites secum adduxit. Comitiva comitis Herfordiæ turba Wallensium vallata, silvestris et fera, non erat vilis nec modica. Comes Warewykyæ homines suos de Arderne animosos valde properanter[3] mandavit adesse, et ceteri barones qui erant ex parte comitum, unusquisque pro posse suo communem vallavit exercitum, et sic profecti sunt ad parliamentum.

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[1] *placaverit*] placuerit, MS.

[2] *parliamentum*] Sept. 30 to Dec. 16, 1312; Parl. Writs. II. i.79.

[3] *properanter*] præparanter, Hearne.

A.D. 1312. October.

Arrival of the earls.

Venientes autem[1] Londonias non statim accesserunt ad regem, sed nuntios suos provide miserunt, qui adventum eorum domino regi nuntiarent et causam vocationis humiliter inquirerent.

The king's deliberations.

Cum ergo didicisset rex adventum comitum et formam adventus eorum, consilium suum convocat ut instans negotium consulte disponat; volens etiam inquirere an cum comitibus expediret congredi, vincere sperarent necne.[2] Quidam vero, quibus de viribus utriusque partis jam liquide constabat, conflictum ad præsens penitus dissuadebant. Nam quicquid de rege accideret, pars regis sine dubio periret, cum regis[3] exercitum pars adversa in duplo superaret; et hoc forsitan ad terrorem dicebant, quia pacem bello præferre volebant.

Mediation of Lewis of Evreux and cardinal Arnald.

Et erant eodem tempore cum rege Lodowycus frater regis Franciæ et quidam cardinalis qui secum venerat de partibus transmarinis. Hii omnem opem et operam concordiam formandi cotidie inhibebant.

Intercession of the earl of Gloucester.

Comes autem Gloucestriæ mediatoris partes sustinuit, et regem de pace et concordia erga barones suos habenda frequenter convenit: "Amici tui sunt," inquit comes, "quos inimicos vocas. Amici tui sunt quos "imprudenter expugnas. In commodum tuum cedit "quicquid faciunt. Pro commodo tuo multa satis "expendunt. Rex, si barones tuos destruis, honorem "tuum certe contempnis. Nec tamen hoc pati tenen- "tur, nec in aliquo delinquunt si propria jura tuen- "tur." Et rex comiti sic respondit: "Non est qui

Sam. xxii. "vicem meam doleat; non est qui pro jure meo ad- "versus istos contendat. Tu vero, nepos meus et dux "meus et notus meus, avunculum tuum deseris, et "adversariis ejus amicum te facis. Protestor amicos "meos non esse qui res meas et jus meum nituntur "expungnare. Si michi jure regio sicut aliis regibus

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[1] *autem*] sunt, MS.

[2] *necne*] unde c., Hearne.

[3] *regis*] rege, MS.

A.D. 1312. October. Speech of the king in answer to the earl of Gloucester.

"uti liceret, non hominem exulatum ex quacunque "causa de regia potestate ad pacem possem revocare? "Hoc jure propria sua auctoritate me privarunt, nam "cui pacem concesseram crudeliter necarunt. Et comes "Lancastriæ michi proximus agnatus, cui possent "sufficere quinque comitatus licet aliena non raperet, "apud Novum Castrum homines meos invasit, et quæ-"dam mei juris secum asportavit; quod si minor aliquis "fecisset furti posset argui, et vi bonorum raptorum "judicio recte condempnari. Et comites ad parlia-"mentum vocati in dedecus regis cum magno exercitu "veniunt armati. Unde cum mea rapuerint et ho-"mines meos occiderint, satis est verisimile quod michi "nolunt deferre, sed coronam rapere et alium sibi "regem præficere." Et comes, "Domine, si quid in[1]

The earl's advice.

"injuriam tuam comites præsumpserint, decet emen-"dari; et si[2] satisfacere fuerint parati, merito debent "reconciliari. Est enim sententia vulgaris[3] ut nemo "in admittenda satisfactione sit difficilis. Expedit "igitur comites prius conveniri et amicabiliter de gra-"vaminibus per eos vobis illatis interpellari, ut ex "responsione eorum appareat an jure vel injuria res "finem acceperit.[4] Est enim apud omnes consuetudo "ut lenia permittantur, quæ si non proficiant aspera "subsequantur."

Defence of the hostile earls.

Et annuit rex. Accessit ergo comes ille mediator ad comites, et querelam regis ac causas injuriarum seriatim exposuit. Ipsi vero super hiis consulti ita responderunt: "Nos domini regis nostri Angliæ barones, et "secundum possibilitatem humanæ condicionis per "omnia fideles, in privationem juris regalis nichil "præsumpsimus, nichil attemptavimus, nec in præ-"judicium vel incommodum ejus unquam aliquid ex-"cogitavimus. Verum est quod proditorem quendam

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1 *in*] om. MS.
2 *si*] sibi, H., conjecturing tibi.
3 *vulgaris*] vulgare, MS.
4 *acceperit*] acceperat, MS.

A.D. 1312. October. Their plea of justification.

"exulantem, et post exilii decretum in terra latitantem, "occidi mandavimus, et hoc non in dedecus regis nec "contra pacem ejus; nec propria auctoritate hoc feci- "mus, sed juxta ordinationes legitimas, assensu regis "et suorum baronum editas et promulgatas, processi- "mus, quas nec rex sola voluntate sua revocare potuit "vel immutare. Nichil enim sine consilio et com- "muni assensu regis et suorum baronum potest statui; "igitur eadem ratione nec dissolvi. Nam secundum "leges civiles nichil tam naturale quam unumquod- "que dissolvi eo genere quo ligatur, et alibi 'omnis[1] "'res per quascunque causas nascitur per easdem "'dissolvitur.' Patet igitur quod pax regia ipsi pro- "ditori concessa non valuit, quia rex ipsam pacem "contra ordinationes concessit, quas solo et proprio "arbitrio tollere non potuit."

Digest 50, xvii. 35.

Particular defence of the earl of Lancaster.

Comes de Lancastre ad objecta sibi per regem respondit quod in prædam vel rapinam nunquam concessit; homines regis non invasit; bona regis nequaquam asportavit, sed apud Novum Castrum veniens multa, quæ ad regem pertinere cognovit, quasi pro derelicto habita, et occupare volentibus exposita, ut dominum regem conservaret indempnem, occupavit et ad opus regis, inventorio de omnibus confecto, custodiendo mandavit.

The earls account for their coming to parliament in arms.

Ita responderunt omnes unanimiter quod non in contemptum regis, sed propter quosdam sibi suspectos ad parliamentum muniti venerunt, cum juxta consilium sapientis nec nudi debere contendere nec inhermes nos inimicis opponere. Ex hiis dictis satis apparere in coronam regiam se nichil deliquisse; protestantes eis in mentem nunquam evenisse alium regem sibi præficere voluisse. Et in calce sermonis hæc simul adiciunt; "Manifeste," inquiunt, "jam liquet quia "dominus rex occasiones quærit adversus nos. Cum

[1] *omnis*] omnes, MS.

A.D. 1312. October. They complain of the king's behaviour,

"enim jam per quinquennium et amplius, pro confir- "matione regni, pro augmentatione honoris regii, satis "ultra vires expenderimus, satis tamen incassum la- "boravimus. Quia dominus rex omnia in dedecus "ejus excogitata, omnia in odium ejus adinventa con- "queritur. Utinam dominus noster quod[1] bonum est "in oculis faciat; unum autem sciat quod cum homines "ejus simus fidem ei servabimus; sed quamvis a "nobis fidelitatem receperit et homagium, æquum et "ipse nihilominus juramentum servare tenetur illæsum. "Et si forsan ab hoc pacto vellet recedere, nos absque "fidei læsione nequaquam teneremur acquiescere. Ro- "boam filius regis Salomonis, quamvis regnum jure "hereditario sibi competeret, quia tamen barones suos "justa petentes non admisit, decima parte regni con- "tentus, reliquam partem penitus amisit. Igitur si "dominus rex affectione qua decet comites et barones "suos tractaverit, si rancorem quem contra nos sine "causa concepit benigne remiserit, et proditores a "curia sua dimiserit, sibi ut regi parebimus, sibi ut "domino serviemus."

and expound the mutual obligations of fealty.

November 13. Birth of an heir to the crown.

Sub tanto rerum strepitu, dum varii rumores hinc inde volarent, dum unus pacem, alter guerram prædicaret, natus est[2] regi filius formosus et dudum affectatus. Impositum est autem ei nomen patris ejus, nomen Edwardus; et natus puer iste in festo Sancti Bricii, quod annuatim celebratur post festum Sancti Martini. Hæc adoptata nativitas tempore accepto 2 Cor. vi. 2. nobis advenit, quia duo effectus Deo disponente feliciter implevit. Dolorem namque regis quem ex morte Petri conceperat valde mitigavit, et certum heredem regno providit. Nam, si rex decessisset sine prole, pro certo mansisset corona sub lite. Vivat igitur juvenis Edwardus, et, avitis patribus assimilatus, quod singulos ditabat solus optineat. Regis Henrici secundi sectetur

[1] *quod*] quid, MS.

[2] *natus est*] Nov. 13, 1312.

industriam, regis Ricardi notam probitatem, ad regis Henrici proveniat ætatem, regis Edwardi recolat sapientiam, viribus et specie referat cum corpore patrem.

A.D. 1312. November. Good wishes.

Audiens igitur rex responsiones comitum, prudentes allegationes et probabiles excusationes eorum, advertens etiam manum validam ex parte baronum, et per hoc suum impediri propositum,[1] simulatam affectionem prætendit, et votis eorum parere promisit. Unde ne nil videretur egisse, mandat baronibus sub forma concordiæ ut petitiones eorum exponerent, et quicquid dictaret ratio indubitanter reportarent. At illi dixerunt se nichil aliud petere velle nisi ut rex ordinationes, quarum effectus in magna sui parte jam erat suspensus, sicut ante promiserat, confirmaret, et mortem Petri proditoris suis fidelibus et legiis hominibus benigne remitteret.

The king promises redress of grievances.

The barons ask for the confirmation of the ordinances.

Et dominus rex sic ad petita respondit: "Excepto "fiscali privilegio ordinationes concessi, et ad hoc con-"cedo; mortem Petri remitto, sed proditorem nequa-"quam appello." Et comites hanc regis indulgentiam parvi momenti fore dixerunt; "nam, si rex mortem "Petri remittit, suam sectam non remittit, sed uxori "aut filiis accusationem non tollit. At si proditoris "mentionem faceret, nulli ulterius secta competeret. "Et si rex comitatum Cornubiæ aliquo colore inten-"dit repetere, profecto requiritur ut Petrus tanquam "proditor obiisse dicatur. Nam extra hunc casum "non poterit rex comitatum acquirere, nisi per Pe-"trum vel si decessisset sine prole: sed neutra con-"ditio potest proficere, quia Petrus moritur prole "superstite. Igitur, nisi proditor Petrus habeatur, "ordinationibus multum derogatur, nec comitatum "Cornubiæ poterit rex de jure repetere."

The king's exceptions.

The barons insist on his treating Gaveston as a traitor.

Sed rex baronibus ita respondit: "Regi," inquit, "variare non convenit, nec sine causa revocare quod "prius indulgetur.[2] Omne crimen per nos fuit Petro[3]

Edward's reply.

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[1] *propositum*] præpositum, MS.
[2] *indulgetur*] indulcitur, MS.
[3] *Petro*] Petrum, MS.

A.D. 1312. December. The negotiations are futile.

"remissum, ergo proditorem eum reputare non possum, quia beneficium principis decet esse mansurum. Petant igitur barones quicquid petendum juste putaverint; obsequar in omnibus eorum arbitrio, sed Petro proditionem nullatenus imputabo." Et sic hac vice sub hiis finibus contentio recedit, sed neutra partium optata reportavit. Revera omne studium regis erat ut negotium protelaret, ut sic laboribus et expensis barones afficeret. Unde et cito post rex a Londoniis recessit, et versus Wyndulsore iter arripuit ut reginam visitaret quæ nuper peperit.

The king goes to Windsor.

A.D. 1313. March. A parliament called, but the king does not come.

Effluxerunt itaque dies anni usque ad Quadragesimam,[1] et circa festum Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ sperabatur rex colloquium cum baronibus Londoniis habiturus, et habita concordia regni negotia cum comitibus dispositurus. Sed[2] rex morbo ut putabatur ficto detentus ad diem non venit; unde nec ipsa dissensio ad huc finem accepit. Post Pascha misit rex Franciæ viros magnos et honoratos nuntios in Angliam,[3] qui regem Angliæ invitarent ad convivium quod paraverat filio suo in festo Pentecosten. Voluit enim rex Franciæ filio suo regi Navariæ vel cingulum militiæ tradere vel[4] regni diadema capiti ejus imponere. Unde rex noster statim de suo itinere disposuit et necessaria provideri mandavit. Miserunt comites ad eum, consulentes ei ne regnum suum periculo exponeret, ne ita inconsulte mare transiret, maxime cum terra ipsa esset quasi in se divisa, et hostis oppugnaret civitates et castra. Robertus enim de Brutz Eboracum[5] jam etiam appropinquavit, et Londonias adire disposuit; nec videtur inpossibile, ex quo non est qui velit resistere. Verumptamen rex a proposito suo non recessit, sed in brevi transfretare

Embassy and invitation from France.

The barons urge the king not to go.

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[1] The parliament sat from March 18 to April 7; and again from May 6 to May 9; Parl. Writs, II. i. 80, 91.

[2] *Sed*] si, MS.

[3] *Angliam*] Anglia, MS.

[4] *vel*] om. MS.

[5] *Eboracum*] Eboracen, MS.

disposuit. Unde nepotem suum comitem Gloverniæ custodem regni constituit, et aliis comitibus sub hoc tenore rescripsit, mandans et rogans quatinus una cum dicto comite ad regni[1] curam intenderent, et quicquid jus dictaret aut ratio in reditu suo certissime reportarent. Unde et festum translationis beati Thomæ terminum præfixit in quo Deo dante redire disposuit, et tunc præsentibus eis plenarie compleret quod promisit.

A.D. 1313. May. The earl of Gloucester regent.

Hiis itaque peractis, rex et regina, cum ceteris electis navem ascendentes, tendunt in Franciam, et ibidem venientes in maximo honore suscipiuntur per totam patriam. Regem nostrum et reginam salvos reducat Deus in Angliam, illos autem destruat qui regnum pervertunt et regiam familiam.

Visit of the court to France.

Ecce nunc rex noster Edwardus sex annis complete regnavit, nec aliquid laudabile vel dignum memoria hucusque patravit, nisi quod regaliter nupsit et prolem elegantem regni heredem sibi suscitavit. Alia fuerunt[2] initia regis Ricardi, qui nondum elapso triennio regni sui probitatis suæ radios longe lateque dispersit; nam Messanas civitatem[3] Siciliæ[4] uno die viriliter subjecit, et terram Cypri in quindecim diebus potenter subjugavit. Deinde apud Acon et in aliis partibus transmarinis quomodo[5] se habuerit historia Latino et Gallico sermone digesta luculenter percurrit. O si rex noster Edwardus initio regni sui bene se habuisset, et consilio malorum hominum non adquievisset,[6] ex antecessoribus suis nobilior illo nequaquam fuisset. Ditaverat enim Deus ipsum omnium virtutum dotibus, parem immo excellentiorem fecerat aliis regibus. Nam si quis ea quæ regem nostrum nobilitant[7] vellet describere, parem in terra non poterit invenire. Gene-

The king has reigned six years and has done nothing great.

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[1] *regni*] regi, MS.
[2] *fuerunt*] fuerint, MS.
[3] *civitatem*] comitatem, MS.; comitatum, Hearne.
[4] *Siciliæ*] Sisiliæ, MS.
[5] *quomodo*] om. MS.
[6] *adquievisset*] advenisset, Hearne.
[7] *nobilitant*] nobilitavit, MS.

A.D. 1313. May. The great advantages which the king possessed.

rositatem ejus aviti patres ostendunt, quorum successiones se jam ad decem gradus extendunt. Divitias habuit in principio regni sui, terram locupletem[1] et favorem populi. Gener factus est regi Franciæ, proximus cognatus regis Hispanniæ. Si adhæsisset baronum consilio Scotos humiliasset pro nichilo. O si armorum usibus se exercitaret, regis Ricardi probitatem præcederet. Hoc enim deposcit materia habilis, cum statura longus sit, et fortis viribus, formosus homo decora facie. Sed quid moror ipsum describere? Si tantam dedisset armis operam quantam impendidit circa rem rusticam, multum excellens fuisset Anglia; nomen ejus sonuisset in terra. O qualis sperabatur adhuc princeps Walliæ! Tota spes evanuit dum factus est rex Angliæ. Petrus de Gavestone regem duxit in devium, terram turbavit, consumpsit thesaurum, tribus vicibus exilium subiit, et postea rediens caput perdidit. Sed adhuc remanent in regis curia de familiaribus Petri et ejus familia, qui perturbant pacem totius patriæ et regem inducunt vindictam quærere. Da pacem, Domine, diebus nostris, et rex cum baronibus fiat unanimis.[2]

How he was misled.

Death of archbishop Winchelsey.

Hiis temporibus mortuus est Robertus de Wynchelse Cantuariæ antistes,[3] cujus memoria in benedictione est, qui templum Domini in vita sua roboravit, et in diebus suis ecclesiam protexit. De ipso enim specialiter dici potest, "non est inventus similis illi qui conservaret "legem Excelsi." Ascendit namque ex adverso et opposuit se murum pro clero. Exiit aliquando edictum ab Edwardo Cæsare ut taxarentur fructus ecclesiæ, et sicut talliabatur populus, ad tallagium compelleretur et clerus. Porro Robertus primas Angliæ præceptum regis non est passus procedere. Dicebat enim omni juri fore contrarium, ut in bonis clericorum haberet

Ecclus. xliv. 20.

Ezek. xiii. 5.

His greatness.

S. Luke, ii. 1.

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[1] *locupletem*] locuplete, MS.

[2] *unanimis*] unanime, MS.

[3] Archbishop Winchelsey died May 11, 1313.

rex imperium, quos etiam lex imperialis multis privilegiis insignivit et ab omni exactione liberos esse statuit. Hoc etiam volunt statuta canonum; et ipsi ethnici manifestum nobis reliquerunt exemplum, quando Egiptii præ magnitudine famis servituti regiæ se subjecerunt, pontifices et ceteri templorum ministri liberi remanserunt. Sed rex exasperatus, et adversus primatem et totius Angliæ clerum vehementer commotus, publica voce promisit curialibus ut in nullo penitus deferrent clericis, sed, sive religiosis seu sæcularibus obviarent, ipsos ab equis protinus deicerent et in usum proprium equos assumerent, et indistincte nullis parcerent nisi regia protectione gauderent. Verumptamen Cantuariæ archiepiscopus magis cœpit esse tumidus et securus, unde in sarculum suum percussit, et in grassantes ulterius processit, et omnes regiam protectionem impetrantes excommunicavit. In tantum autem excrevit laicorum audacia ut nec ulli parcerent in archipræsulis curia quin etiam ipsum archipræsulem ab equo deicerent, et omnem suppellectilem diriperent, unde archiepiscopus patienter ferre injuriam pedes coactus est ire per patriam. Denique rex ad pœnitentiam ductus, et graviter se peccasse confessus, curialium repressit audaciam et liberam manere jussit ecclesiam. Iterum orta dissensione inter regem et archipræsulem, procurante rege vocatus est ad curiam Romanam, et ibi per biennium fere remansit, et fructus suos biennales confiscatos amisit. Deinde mortuo rege in Angliam rediit, et ecclesiam suam pacifice usque huc gubernavit. Nunc autem naturæ debita persolvens, cælestem migravit ad patriam, Cantuariensem ut creditur ornaturus ecclesiam.

A.D. 1313. May. Recapitulation of the archbishop's quarrel with Edward I.

The second quarrel.

Anno igitur septimo regis intrante,[1] in festo Translationis beatæ Thomæ conveniunt Londoniis comites

July. Parliament.

[1] The second parliament of 1313 met on the 8th July; Parl. Writs, II. i. 94.

A.D. 1313. July. The king does not arrive until the earls had left, and summons a new parliament for September.

et barones juxta promissum regis adventum exspectantes, ibidemque fere per quindenam commorantes, neque regis copiam habuerunt, neque de regis reditu certos nuntios acceperunt. Unde comites, laboribus et expensis satis fatigati, sine die ad propria sunt reversi. Circa gulam Augusti rediit dominus rex, et quasi de recessu comitum molestus, scripsit comitibus rogans quatinus moram suam excusatam haberent, et in festo Sancti Mathæi si placeret ad parliamentum redirent, et tunc communi consilio quicquid faciendum, quicquid corrigendum esse prospicerent, communiter repararet.

Questionable policy of the king.

Sed quid prosunt regi procrastinationes assiduæ? Dicunt quidam, ut adversarios suos cogat expendere, vel mortem comitis forsan exspectat quem alias superare non sperat. Sane peccat qui hoc audet asserere; immo non apparet verisimile ut rex ipse tam necessarii mortem affectaret amici. Quis magis regi succurreret in summa necessitate, quam cognatus ejus Thomas Lancastriæ? Certe non socius ejus ipse rex Franciæ, nec Petrus, si viveret, comes Cornubiæ. Revera quicquid dolose actum est in curia regis processit ex consiliariis ejus, sed consilium eorum est inefficax et machinatio peritura. Maledictus favor eorum quia pertinax, et indignatio eorum quia dividentur tandem a curia et dispergentur in ignominia. Justum est enim ut suos auctores teneant peccata ne maleficia remaneant impunita.

His mischievous advisers.

Gen. xlv. 7.

Cod. 9. xlvii. 22.

September. A new parliament.

Ad festum Sancti Mathæi conveniunt[1] Londoniis comites prædicti, et manserunt in eodem loco per aliquod tempus, nec regi mittentes, nec mandatum a rege recipientes. Ut autem per eos non staret quominus concordia fieret, miserunt ad dominum regem petentes quatenus sæpe promissa consummaret, et baronibus suis sub fide non ficta rancorem remitteret.

[1] The third parliament of 1313 met Sept. 23, and sat till Nov. 18; Parl. Writs. II. i. 102, 115.

Rex vero non statim annuit, sed potius ex solito negotium protelavit. Tandem quia vox publica testimonium præbuit, et rex ipse per exploratores suos manifeste cognovit, quia aut[1] petitioni comitum satisfieret, aut sibi suisque tutius esse ante tempus occurrere quam post vulneratam causam remedium quærere; multa etiam instantia cardinalis et domini Lodowici precibus inductus, mandavit comitibus et baronibus quatinus, omni suspicione rejecta et securitate quam vellent petita et obtenta, ad præsentiam suam accederent, et benivolentiam ejus multociens requisitam pro libito reportarent.

A.D. 1313. October. After some delay the king consents to receive the earls.

Comites igitur in crastinum dominum regem adierunt, ipsumque flexis genibus sicut decuit salutarunt. Quos ipse benigne suscipiens protinus erexit, et singillatim singulos in osculo suscepit, ab omni delicto prius eis imposito penitus absolvit, rationabiliter petita et inposterum petenda similiter concessit, et hæc omnia jurejurando et scripto, magno sigillo confirmatis, roboravit. Rex etiam ad majoris fœderis signum comites invitavit ad prandium; ipse vero altera die in mensa comitis Lancastriæ. Hic etenim mos inolevit in Anglia ut pax confirmetur ad convivia. Sic ergo mors Petri remittitur, et comes de Penbroke reconciliatur, et de ceteris amicis regis factum est sicut rex voluit; sed Hugo Despenser gratiam habere non potuit. Caveat sibi de comite Lancastriæ, et terram evacuet si velit evadere. Tota terra versa est in ejus odium; pauci lugerent ejus infortunium. Multis in officio suo injuste nocuit; plures magnates et viros divites exheredavit, et utinam amitteret quod sic adquisivit ut puniretur in quo deliquit. Summe Deus, auctor justitiæ, falsos et perfidos a rege remove; inter regem et barones hoc fœdus initum, Te protegente, servetur in posterum.

He pardons them and promises redress.

Feast of reconciliation.

Hugh le Despenser excluded.

His unpopularity.

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[1] *aut*] autem, MS.

A.D. 1318. October. Historical warnings against opposition to the king.

Quæret forsan aliquis quid comites fecissent si regem in promissis difficilem invenissent. Credo constanter quod regem captum sub custodia posuissent, donec eos auctores discordiæ penitus destruxissent. Nonne sic comes Symon de Mountefort regem Henricum tenuit et filium ejus Edwardum carceri mancipavit? Sed non est tutum contra regem cervicem erigere, quia tristes exitus frequenter solet afferre. Nam Symon ille comes Leycestriæ[1] tandem apud Evesham occubuit in acie; comes de Ferrers terras perdidit; comiti Marescalliæ rex ipse successit; quilibet istorum regi restitit, et quilibet istorum in fine succubuit.

Grant of a subsidy.

Sic igitur rege et baronibus suis sub forma prædicta in amicitiam revocatis, comites et ceteri magnates terræ dederunt regi in subsidium guerræ suæ vicesimum denarium totius Angliæ, cetera autem ordinanda in futurum distulerunt ad proximum parliamentum; et comes Herfordiæ remansit de regis familia, ceteri vero comites reversi sunt ad propria.

Election of a new archbishop.

Quia prius mentionem feci de morte Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, nunc de ejus successore, et quomodo successit, adverte. Mortuo namque archipræsule, prior ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, et ejusdem loci conventus, processerunt ad electionem, unanimi consensu elegerunt magistrum Thomam de Cobham virum nobilem, divini et humani juris professorem; qui statim iter arripiens mare transiit et juri suo prosequendo operam dedit. Duæ tamen causæ impediebant eum. Adhuc[2] enim languente primate miserat papa bullam suam qua[3] reservavit sibi dispositionem archiepiscopatus et electionem futuri pontificis. Misit et rex Angliæ summo pontifici, orans ut clericum suum Wygorniensem episcopum ad sedem archiepiscopalem duceret[4] promoven-

Thomas Cobham chosen.

The bishop of Worcester named by the king to the pope.

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[1] *Leycestriæ*] Lancastriæ, MS.
[2] *Adhuc*] Ad hoc, MS.
[3] *qua*] quam, MS.
[4] *duceret*] ducet, MS.

dum. Hiis de causis impediebatur electus, nec eligentium sibi proficere potuit assensus, quin rege[1] instante et multa ut creditur pecunia interveniente, dominus papa archiepiscopatum conferret, et dictum episcopum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ præficeret. A.D. 1313. October. The pope provides Walter Reynolds.

O quanta inter electum et præfectum erat differentia! Nam electus ipse flos Cantiæ, nobilis generis, rexerat in artibus, in decretis, et magister erat theologus, sedi Cantuariensis ecclesiæ satis ydoneus. Dictus vero episcopus nuper erat simplex clericus et minus competenter litteratus, sed in ludis theatralibus principatum tenuit, et per hoc regis favorem optinuit. Unde in familia regis assumptus post modicum tempus factus est regis thesaurarius, et de thesauraria Wygorniensis episcopus, postmodum cancellarii gessit officium et ecce, nunc promotus est in archiepiscopum. Mirantur quidam de viri fortuna, sed ego magis miror de domino papa, cur tam excellentem personam respueret, et inydoneum scienter assumeret, cum de utriusque meritis patenter sibi constaret. Sed domina pecunia omne negotium consummat in curia. Consuetudinem et mores Romanæ curiæ, si forsan ignoras, adverte. Amat causas, lites, jurgia, quia expediri non possunt sine pecunia; et causa quæ curiam semel ingreditur pene immortalis efficitur; et hæc fuit causa quare, omisso quolibet medio, licuit ad papam appellare. Quilibet etiam sola contentus esse debet ecclesia, sicut cavit capitulum *de multa*; excipiuntur tamen sublimes personæ, dispensationem accipiunt indistincte, sed omnes qui pecuniam dare sufficiunt. Hæc miranda vanitas, hæc curiæ detestanda cupiditas, totum orbem in sui scandalum excitavit. Multis retro temporibus exstitit inauditum, ut citramontanus eligeretur in papam; post hæc nunquam eveniat ut tam vicinus homo cathedram papalem ascendat. Octo annis

Sad contrast between Cobham and Reynolds.

Previous career of the new primate.

Influence of money at the papal court.

Theory of appeals.

Decr. Greg. IX., lib. iii. p. 5. c. 28.

Scandal of Simony.

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[1] *rege*] regem, MS.

A.D. 1313. Administration of Clement V.

et amplius papa Clemens quintus universalem rexit ecclesiam, sed quicquid profuit homini evasit memoriam. Apud Vienniam consilium congregavit, et Templarios disposuit, indulgentias pro Terra Sancta concessit, infinitam pecuniam congessit, sed Terræ Sanctæ nichil omnino profuit. Regibus concessit decimas, pauperum spoliavit ecclesias. Melius esset rectoribus papam non habere quam tot exactionibus indies subjacere. Sed an hoc possit facere non est meum discutere, quia instar sacrilegii est de potestate principis disputare. Inter omnes mundi provincias sola Anglia dominum papam[1] sentit onerosum; nam ex plenitudine potestatis multa præsumit, nec princeps nec populus sibi contradicit; omnes pingues redditus sibi reservat, atque rebellantes statim excommunicat; veniunt legati et terram spoliant, veniunt bullati et præbendas vendicant. Omnes decanatus alienigenis contulit ubi lex indigenas[2] præferri statuit. Residentia decanorum jam nunc aboletur, et canonicorum numerus valde desolatur. Nonne sicut papa spiritualia moderatur, et sic princeps imperatorum in temporalibus dominatur?[3] Cur igitur papa magis præsumit in clericis, quam ipsa majestas et dominatio imperialis in laicis? Imperator enim sine causa a nullo quicquam exigit; dominus papa passim cum vult mutat, confert et repetit. Domine Jesu, vel papam tolle de medio, vel potestatem minue quam præsumit in populo, quia privilegium meretur amittere qui concessa sibi abutitur potestate. Quid dicam de clericis qui hiis diebus accedunt ad curiam, et multa refusa pecunia tanquam in foro venali dignitates emunt et præbendas? Si dicamus Simoniam committi, ipse papa non poterit excusari, quia Simonia ultro citroque est obligatoria; sicut

[Margin notes: Its uselessness. — Cod. 9. xxix. 2. — Special hardships of England. — Desolation of cathedrals. — The world could do without such popes. — 11. Decr. c. xi. q. 3. c. 63. — Is not the pope guilty of Simony?]

[1] *papam*] ipsam, MS.
[2] *indigenas*] indiginas, MS.
[3] Hearne read the MS. thus: Nomen sicut papam, &c.

II. Decr. c. i. q. 1. c. 6. enim ementem ligat sic et vendentem condempnat. A.D. 1313. Sed forsan dicet papa se supra leges esse et per consequens legibus ligari non posse. *The source of justice should not be corrupted.* Sed non debet[1] facere Digest 8. v. 15. quod necesse habet alios prohibere, ne inde nascantur injuriæ, unde jura debent procedere. Ego tamen ad præsens dominum papam excuso; nec ipsum excedere credamus in aliquo, quia vel honoris gratia datur, vel ad elemosinam papæ redigitur quicquid ex hoc causa confertur; *A plea for the system.* unde liberalitas domini papæ sic excitatur, sed venditio nusquam contrahitur. Nam si quis honoris gratia in auditorio quicquam tribuit, non tamen propter hoc ipsum conducit; alioquin non ex mandato sed ex conducto competeret actio. Probet autem se ipsum homo et secum diligenter deliberet, an si impetrare vel non impetrare magis expediat, *Let every man take heed to himself.* quia gehennæ ignis exspectat incendium, qui læsa conscientia tendit ad judicium.

Interea Robertus de Brutz partes Northumbrorum A.D. 1314. violenter invasit, villas et burgos succendit, homines occidit, animalia eorum abegit, et multos ad tributum coegit. *Scottish ravages in the north.* Nam cives et incolæ, videntes se sui regis defensione carere, et sævitiam Roberti de Brutz non posse sufferre, fecerunt pacem cum eo quam poterant, de termino in terminum solvendum certum tributum. Erat autem tributum quod modico tempore sic extorserat, quasi quadraginta milia librarum. Muros etiam villarum et castrorum in Scotia funditus destruxit, ne supervenienti genti Anglorum munitioni forent in posterum. *Robert Bruce destroys fortifications in Scotland.* Cepit autem duo castra regis Angliæ munitissima, Edeneburghe scilicet et Rokesburghe; unum per proditionem cujusdam Vasconis qui erat cognatus Petri de Gavastone, cui rex noster custodiam castri tradiderat. *Edinburgh and Roxburgh taken.* Ipse perjurus et proditor adhæsit Roberto de Brutz et castrum prodidit.[2] Alterum castrum captum erat per industriam Jacobi Dugelas, qui erat ex

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[1] *debet*] debere, MS.

[2] *prodidit*] perdidit, MS.

A.D. 1314. Douglas takes Roxburgh.

parte Scotorum. Nam ipse Jacobus quadam nocte clam ad castellum accessit, et scalas latenter allatas ad murum apposuit; et sic per eas murum ascendit, et custodibus dormientibus vel incautis socios introduxit; et quos reperiebat invasit et castrum cepit, et eodem modo castrum de Berewyke cepisset nisi quidam canis vigiles excitasset. Deinde Robertus de Brutz ad obsidendum castrum de Stryvelyn se convertit. Hoc quidem castrum dominus Edwardus rex Angliæ senior cum toto exercitu suo per tres menses et amplius obsedit antequam capere posset. Videns igitur custos castri obsidionem jam cœptam, victum eorum insufficientem, Robertum et Scotos in[1] insidiis semper latentes, treugas accepit sub hoc pacto, quod aut procuraret regem Angliæ ad defendendum castrum venire, aut, si regem ad hoc inducere non posset, castrum indilate relinqueret; et hoc petitum sic initum fide media confirmatur, et dies Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ pro termino assignatur.

Bruce besieges Stirling.

Agreement to surrender if not relieved before June 24.

February. Intelligence brought to the king.

Circa principium Quadragesimæ venerunt nuntii ad regem narrantes municipiorum Scotiæ destructionem, castrorum captionem et murorum in circuitu diruptionem. Venit et constabularius de Stryvelyn indicans regi quale petitum necessitate compulsus inierat; procuravit regem exercitum in Scotiam ducere, castrum suum et terram defendere.

He summons the earls.

They insist on a parliamentary determination.

Audiens hæc rex vehementer doluit, et pro castrorum captione lacrimas continere vix potuit. Mandavit igitur comitibus et baronibus quatinus in auxilium suum venirent, et proditorem qui se regem facit expungnarent. Responderunt comites melius fore ad parliamentum omnes convenire et ibidem unanimiter diffinire quid in hoc negotio oportet agere, quam si ita inconsulte procederent; nam et ordinationes hoc volunt. Dixit autem rex instans negotium magna

[1] *in*] et, MS.

acceleratione indigere, et ideo parliamentum exspectare non posse. Dixerunt comites ad pugnam sine parliamento venire nolle, ne contingeret eos ordinationes offendere. Consiliarii vero et domestici regis quidam consuluerunt regi, ut debita servitia ab omnibus exigeret, et audacter in Scotiam tenderet. Certum est quod tot in auxilium venirent quibus nec Robertus Brutz nec Scoti resisterent. Quid comes Gloucestriæ, quid comes de Penbroke, quid comes de Herford, Robertus de Clifford, Hugo Despenser et regis familia et ceteri barones qui sunt in Anglia? Omnes hii venient cum suis militibus: non est magna cura de reliquis comitibus. Rex igitur debita servitia ab omnibus exegit, et commeatui necessaria provideri mandavit. Præmisit quoque comitem de Penbrok cum manu militari, qui insidias Scotorum diligenter exploraret, et viam regis in Scotiam præpararet.

A.D. 1314. The king declines to wait.

He can rely on several of the earls.

The earl of Pembroke sent forward.

Omnibus itaque necessariis collectis, rex et alii magnates terræ cum magna multitudine curruum et quadrigarum profecti sunt in Scotiam. Cumque dominus rex ad Berewyk pervenisset, aliquantulam moram fecit ut venturum exercitum exspectaret. Comes autem Lancastriæ, comes Warenniæ, comes de Arundel et comes de Warewik non venerunt, sed milites instructos qui debita servitia pro eis impenderent ad exercitum præmiserunt. Instante jam festo Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, sexto vel septimo die præcedente, rex noster cum universo exercitu suo a Berewyk exivit, et versus Stryvelyn iter arripuit. Erant autem armatorum amplius quam duo milia excepta peditum turba copiosa. Fuerunt in societate illa satis sufficientes[1] ad penetrandum totam Scotiam, et judicio aliquorum, si tota Scotia collecta fuisset in unum, non exspectaret regis exercitum. Revera hoc fatebatur tota comitiva, quod tempore nostro talis exercitus non ex-

June. The king arrives at Berwick.

The malcontent earls stay behind.

March towards Stirling.

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[1] *sufficientes*] sufficienter, MS.

A.D. 1314. June. The king marches as confidently as if he were a pilgrim to Compostella.

ivit ab Anglia. Multitudo quadrigarum, si seriatim extensa fuisset in longum, occupasset spatium viginti leucarum.

Rex igitur, de tanta et tam clara multitudine confisus et animosus effectus, de die in diem festinanter ad locum præfixum est profectus, non tanquam exercitum ducturus ad bellum sed magis profecturus ad Sanctum Jacobum. Brevis erat mora capiendi sompnum, sed brevior erat mora sumendi cibum; unde equi, equites et pedites, labore et fame fatigati, si minus bene rem gererent non erant culpandi.

June 23. Skirmish near Stirling.

Comes autem Gloucestriæ et comes Herfordiæ primam aciem regebant. Die itaque Dominica, quæ erat beati Johannis vigilia, cum jam quandam silvam præteriissent et castrum de Stryvelyn jam appropinquarent, ecce Scoti quasi fugientes errabant sub nemore,[1] quos miles quidam Henricus de Boun[2] cum Walensibus persecutus est usque ad introitum nemoris. Gestabat enim in animo quod, si Robertum de Brutz ibidem inveniret, vel morti traderet vel secum captum adduceret. Cum autem eo pervenisset, Robertus ipse a latebris silvæ statim exibat;[3] vidensque prædictus Henricus quod multitudini Scotorum resistere non posset, redire volens ad socios equum retorsit; sed Robertus ei restitit et securi quam manu gerebat caput ipsius contrivit. Armiger autem ejus, dum dominum suum tueri vel vindicare conatur, a Scotis opprimitur.

Unlucky beginning.

Initium malorum hoc! ipso eodem die satis acre bellum geritur, in quo comes Gloucestriæ ab equo deicitur, in quo Robertus de Clifford turpiter in fugam convertitur, sed et homines nostri dum Scotos persequuntur,[4] multi ex utraque parte perimuntur. Quia vero inclinata erat jam dies convenit totus exercitus ad locum ubi ipsa nocte reclinaret. Sed nulla erat

The earl of Gloucester unhorsed.

[1] *nemore*] more, MS.

[2] *Boun*] Doun, Hearne. *See* Cont. Trivet, p. 14.

[3] *exibat*] exibit, MS.

[4] *persequuntur*] . peresquentur, MS.

quies; totam enim illam duxerunt insompnem. Putabant namque Scotos potius insultum dare de nocte quam bellum expectare de die. Mane autem facto certo certius compertum est Scotos paratos ad prælium cum magna multitudine armatorum. Unde homines nostri, milites scilicet veterani, et hii qui magis erant experti, consilium dederunt ipso die non esse pungnaturum, sed diem crastinum magis expectandum, tum propter solempne festum tum propter laborem præteritum. Utile quidem et honestum erat consilium apud juvenes reprobatum, inhers et ignavum putatum.

A.D. 1314. June 24. Preparations for battle.

The veterans propose delay.

Comes autem Gloucestriæ consiluit regi ne ipso die in bellum prodiret, sed propter festum potius vacaret, et exercitum suum valde recrearet. Sed rex consilium comitis sprevit, et proditionem et prævaricationem sibi imponens in ipsum vehementer excanduit.[1] "Hodie," inquit comes, "erit liquidum quod nec proditor nec "prævaricator sum," et statim paravit se ad pungnandum. Interim Robertus de Brutz socios monuit et instruxit, panem et vinum præbuit, et modo quo potuit confortavit; ubi vero didicit acies Anglorum in campum devenisse totum exercitum suum eduxit de nemore. Circiter quadraginta milia hominum secum produxit, ipsosque in tres turmas divisit, et nullus eorum equum ascendit, sed erat unusquisque eorum levi armatura munitus, quam non faciliter penetraret gladius. Securim habebant ad latus et lanceas ferebant in manibus. Ibant etiam quasi sepes densa conserti, nec leviter potuit talis turma penetrari. Cum autem ad hoc ventum esset ut congredi simul oporteret, Jacobus Douglas, qui primæ turmæ Scotorum præerat, aciem comitis Gloucestriæ acriter invasit. Et comes ipsum viriliter[2] excepit, semel et iterum cuneum penetravit, et triumphum utique reportasset si fideles

The earl of Gloucester gives the same advice.

The king insists on battle.

Bruce's array.

Douglas attacks Gloucester.

[1] *excanduit*] excandavit, MS. | [2] *viriliter*] ipsum, ins. MS.

A.D. 1314. June 24. Fall of the earl of Gloucester.

socios habuisset. Sed ecce, subito irruentibus Scotis, equus comitis occiditur et comes in terram labitur. Ipse etiam defensore carens et mole corporis nimis oneratus faciliter exsurgere non potuit, sed inter quingentos armatorum quos suis sumptibus duxerat ad bellum, ipse fere solum occubuit. Cum enim viderent dominum suum ab equo dejectum, stabant quasi attoniti non ferentes auxilium. Maledicta militia[1] cujus summa necessitate perit audacia.

Rumours about this.

Heu! viginti milites armati satis subvenissent comiti, sed inter quingentos fere non profuit unus. Confundat eos Dominus! Alii dixerunt comitem Gloucestriæ ex incauto processu subito periisse. Certabant enim inter se ipse et comes Herfordiæ quis in acie alterum deberet præcedere,[2] et comes Herfordiæ dicebat hoc sibi de jure competere eo quod constabularius sit Angliæ. Alius dicebat progenitores suos semper in acie primos exstitisse, et hoc ideo ad se pertinere de consuetudine. Porro dum in hunc modum uterque certaret, et acies Scotorum acriter appropinquaret, prosiluit comes Gilbertus inordinate volens de primo congressu triumphum reportare; sed ecce irruentibus Scotis comes excipitur et equus ejus statim occiditur; quia defensore caruit ab equo dejectus, et multis vulneribus confossus[3] turpiter occubuit. Heu! viginti milites armati satis subvenissent comiti, sed inter quingentos fere non profuit unus. Confundat eos Dominus!

He had disputed precedence with the constable.

He is killed without succour.

Giles of Argentine tried to help him and fell with him.

Ægidius de Argentym, miles strenuus et in re militari multum expertus, dum frænum regis regeret et casum comitis aspiceret, acer et anxius illuc properavit subvenire comiti, nec potuit. Fecit tamen quod potuit, et cum comite simul occubuit, honestius arbitrans cum tanto viro succumbere quam fugiendo mortem evadere;

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[1] *militia*] malitia, Hearne.
[2] *præcedere*] procedere, MS.
[3] *confossus*] confessus, MS.

nam qui in acie pro re publica perimuntur semper per gloriam vivere intelliguntur. Eodem die Robertus de Clifford, Paganus Typetot, Willelmus Mareschal, milites præclari, potentes et strenui, a Scotis oppressi ibidem occumbunt. A.D. 1314. June 24. Other lords killed.

Videntes hii qui cum rege nostro erant aciem comitis contritam et socios ejus paratos ad fugam, dixerunt, periculosum est diutius morari sed tutius fore regem reverti. Ad quorum dicta rex campum reliquit et versus castrum properavit. Porro dum vexillum regis abire conspicitur totus exercitus cito dispergitur. Ducenti milites et amplius, qui nec gladium eduxerant nec ictum quidem protulerant, in fugam conversi sunt. The king quits the field. Flight of the army.

O gens inclita multis retro temporibus invicta, cur fugis pedites quæ vincere solebas equites? Apud Berewyke, Dounbar et Foukyrk, triumphum reportasti, nunc Scotis peditibus terga dedisti. Sed quicquid dicant alii, non erat tecum manus Domini. Sic Benadab fortissimus rex Syriæ fugatur per pedissequos principum Samariæ. Shame to England. 1 Kings, xx. 14.

Dum igitur gens nostra fugeret, dum vestigia regis arriperet, ecce quædam fossa multos absorbuit, magna pars nostrorum in ipsa periit. Veniens namque rex ad castrum et credens ibidem habere refugium, tanquam hostis repellitur; pons attrahitur et porta clauditur. Unde custos castri a plerisque proditionis expers non esse credebatur, et tamen in acie armatus quasi pro rege pungnaturus ipso die videbatur. Verum nec custodem absolvo, nec proditionis accuso, sed consilio Dei fateor evenisse regem Angliæ castrum non intrasse, quia si tunc admissus fuisset sine captione nequaquam evasisset. The ditches. The king refused admittance at Stirling Castle.

Cum rex sic se repulsum vidisset, nec aliud refugium jam superesset, versus Dounbar iter arripuit, et ibidem veniens navem ascendit. Ad portum de Berewyke cum suis applicuit. Alii vero navem non habentes per terram veniunt. Milites arma exuunt et He flies to Dunbar and thence to Berwick.

A.D. 1314. June. Flight and slaughter.

nudi fugiunt; Scoti semper persequuntur[1] a tergo; quinquaginta miliaribus duravit persecutio. Multi quidem ex nostris perimuntur, et multi similiter capiuntur. Nam incolæ terræ, qui prius pacem finxerant, nunc homines nostros passim trucidabant, quia proclamatum erat per dominum Robertum de Brutz captivos ducere et capientes lucrum sentire. Unde Scoti satagebant valde magnates capere ut multam pecuniam possent extorquere. Capti sunt itaque comes de Herforde, Johannes Gyffard, Johannes de Wylyntone, Johannes de Segrave, Mauricius de Berkelee, barones certe magnæ potentiæ, et multi alii quos non oportet numerare, quorum multi de redemptione conveniunt, et pecuniam solventes absoluti sunt. Non profuit ibidem cognitio, quia difficilior erat redemptio. Quingenti et amplius putabantur mortui qui captivi ducti sunt et postea redempti. Porro inter omnia adversa hoc quidem exercitui nostro prospere contigit, quod, dum gens nostra fugæ præsidium quæreret, magna pars Scotorum ad spolia diripienda se convertit. Quia, si omnes Scoti pariter persecutioni nostrorum intendissent, pauci ex nostris Scotos evasissent. Unde dum Robertus de Brutz cum suis quadrigas nostras invasit, plurima pars Anglorum ad Berewyke salva pervenit. Siquidem a sæculo recordor inauditum talem exercitum coram peditibus tam subito dispersum, nisi cum flos Franciæ coram Flandrensibus apud Courtrai cecidit, ubi nobilis ille comes Artagensis Robertus occubuit.

The chief captives.

The Scottish love of booty saved the English from total destruction.

Parallel with the battle of Courtrai in 1302.

Immense loss of treasure.

O dies ultionis et infortunii, dies perditionis et opprobrii, dies mala et execranda, nec in anni circulo computanda; quæ famam Anglorum maculavit, et spoliavit Anglicos, et Scotos ditavit, in qua pretiosa supellex nostrorum diripitur, quæ ducentarum millium librarum æstimatur! Tot boni proceres, juventus

[1] *persequuntur*] persequentur, MS.

valida, tot equi nobiles, tot arma bellica, pretiosæ vestes et vasa aurea, dies dura et brevis hora abstulit hæc omnia. A.D. 1314. June 24.

Quæret forsan et dicet aliquis quare percussit nos hodie Dominus, quare subcubuimus coram Scotis, cum viginti annis præteritis semper victoriam habuerimus; revera casus antiquorum exemplum præbent, et actus Hebræorum manifeste respondent. Medorum rex Serseles potentissimus, dum Græcis bellum indiceret in classe numerosa et multitudine contumaci, vix licuit victo sola cum nave reverti. Israel dum Benjamyn expungnaret propter scelus commissum in Gabaa, de numero et fortitudine confidens, bis in prælio cæditur, bis coram Benjamyn in fuga convertitur. Sic homines nostri, qui in superbia et abusione venerunt, in ignominia et confusione redierunt. Certe superba nostrorum præsumptio Scotos fecit gaudere triumpho.

Parallel defeat of Xerxes.

Judges xx. 21, 25.

Parallel victory of the Benjamites.

De superbia modernorum, et quis fructus inde proveniat, modicum si placet lector advertat. Hodie pauper et tenuis, qui nec obolum habet in bonis, majorem se contempnit, et maledictum pro maledicto referre non metuit. Sed ex rusticitate forsan hoc accidit. Veniamus igitur ad eos qui se putant eruditos. Quis putas majori rixa in alium excandescit[1] quam curialis? dum forte rancore tumescit inferiorem non respicit; parem fastidit, majori par fieri semper intendit. Nam armiger militem, miles baronem, baro comitem, comes regem, in omni fere cultu antecedere nititur et laborat. Porro dum sumptus deficit, quia patrimonium non sufficit, ad prædam se convertunt, vicinos spoliant, subditos[2] expilant, et in ipsos Dei ministros infamem quæstum exercent. Hinc est quod magnates terræ vel cadunt in bello, vel moriuntur sine filio, aut sexus fœmineus hereditatem dividit, et nomen patris imperpetuum evanescit.

Prevalence of pride and insolence;

even amongst educated men.

This is one cause of the extinction of the noble houses.

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[1] *excandescit*] excadescit, MS. | [2] *subditos*] subitos, MS.

A.D. 1314. September. Parliament at York.

Post hæc rex de consilio suorum relicta Berewike sub custodia tendit Eboracum, et ibidem cum comite Lancastriæ et ceteris magnatibus habuit consilium, et de suis infortuniis quærit remedium. Dixerunt comites ordinationes observatas non esse, et iccirco regi deterius accidisse; tum quia rex ordinationibus stare juraverat, tum quia archiepiscopus omnes contravenientes excommunicaverat. Unde nichil bene posse fieri protestantur nisi ordinationes plenius observentur. Rex vero ad omnia pro communi utilitate ordinata paratum se dixit, et se ordinationes observare in bona fide promisit. Dixerunt comites nil videri actum dum aliquid superesset[1] agendum, sed [si] ordinationes debeant observari, oportet eas executioni demandari. Rex executionem concessit; nihil comitibus denegavit. Igitur cancellarius, thesaurarius, vicecomites et alii officiarii removentur, et juxta tenorem ordinationum novi subrogantur. Voluerunt etiam comites quod Hugo Despenser, Henricus de Beaumount et quidam alii curiam regis evacuarent, donec ad obicienda responderent interrogatis, et super objectis satisfactionem præstarent convicti; sed hoc ad instantiam regis differtur. Hugo tamen Despenser latitare compellitur.

The earls urge the king to confirm the ordinances.

He does so.

Change of ministers.

Hugh le Despenser in retirement.

De expungnatione Roberti de Brutz et recuperatione Scotiæ ad proximum parliamentum distulerunt, quia comes Herfordiæ et alii barones in vinculis detenti nondum redierunt. Lugebat autem soror regis maritum suum comitem Herfordiæ, et dominus rex dedit ei omnes captivos Scotiæ. Nam tempore regis Edwardi senioris quidam capti fuerant qui usque ad præsens tempus sub carcere remanserunt; inter quos erat uxor Roberti de Brutz, episcopus de Glascou, et quidam comes juvenis, et alii milites Scotorum quindecim et amplius. Elaboratum est interim ut comes postliminio[2] rediret, sed promittitur, nisi multa con-

The warlike proceedings stayed until the prisoners are released.

Long imprisonment of Scots in England.

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[1] *superesset*] superesse, MS. | [2] *postliminio*] post limino, MS.

ferret; et multa quidem offeruntur, sed plura satis et quæ vires ejus excederent exiguntur. Tandem post varios circuitus sic actum est, ut Robertus de Brutz uxorem suam et ceteros captivos Scotorum reciperet,[1] et comitem Herfordiæ sine mora restitueret; et hac permutatione sic facta rediit comes noster ad propria.

A.D. 1314. Arrangement for exchange.

Post Natale Domini paucis evolutis diebus dominus rex corpus Petri de Gavestone, sui quondam specialis amici, ab Oxonia ad Langeleye fecit transferri. Jam enim de capitatione ipsius biennium transivit et amplius, et usque nunc apud fratres Oxoniæ jacuit inhumatus. Proposuerat namque rex, ut dicitur, prius mortem Petri vindicasse, deinde corpus ejus sepulturæ tradidisse. Sed jam revocati in amicitiam sunt ex quibus videbatur rex petere vindictam. Rex apud Langeleye, ubi fratribus Prædicatoribus jam pridem domum construxit, corpus sui Petri honorifice sepelivit.

Burial of Piers Gaveston at Langley.

Deinde ad Purificationem beatæ Mariæ conveniunt Londoniis comites et barones universi, de statu regis et regni et de expungnatione Scotorum tractaturi.[2] Et in primis ejecerunt a consilio regis Hugonem Despenser, et Walterum de Langetone episcopum Cestriæ, olim thesaurarium domini regis Angliæ. Postea removerunt a curia regis familiam superfluam, regi et terræ nimis onerosam, ut dicebatur. Ex illa remotione expensæ regis cotidianæ in decem libris sunt diminutæ. Cœpit igitur parliamentum pacifice tractari et usque ad finem Quadragesimæ fere protelari.

A.D. 1315. February. Parliament.

Hugh le Despenser and bishop Langton removed from council.

In hoc parliamento, quia negotiatores in vendendis victualibus per patriam transeuntibus modum excesserunt, comites et barones, rei publicæ prospicientes, huic morbo medelam apposuerunt; unde in bobus,

Legislation on prices.

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[1] *reciperet*] reciperit, MS.

[2] The parliament met on the 20th of January, and sat till the 9th of March; Parl. Writs, II. i. 137, 139, 149.

A.D. 1315. March. Prices fixed. porcis et ovibus, in avibus, pulcinis et columbis, et in ceteris communibus victualibus certum pretium statuerunt. Import of Gascon wine. Provisum est etiam et concessum ut Vascones vina sua ad portus Angliæ transveherent, et ibidem tonellum secundum pretium in parliamento taxatum venderent, nec Anglici ulterius tanquam forstallarii ad quærenda vina transfretarent. Hæc omnia per terram sic divulgantur et in comitatibus et[1] burgis publice proclamantur.

Maurice Berkeley made commander at Berwick. Mauricius de Berkelee curam et custodiam villæ de Berewik accepit, unde ad eam tuendam sine dilatione iter arripuit. Est autem Berewyke villa fortis et bene murata in initio Scotiæ super mare posita, mercatoribus in tempore pacis satis accommoda; quæ si proditione non fraudetur nunquam Scotiæ subicietur; obsidionem non formidat dum tamen Anglia sibi succurrat. Naves enim Anglicanæ totam terram circueunt, et in arte navigandi et in conflictu navali principatum gerunt; unde, si tota Scotia Berewyk invaderet, a parte maris timeri non oportet.

Prohibition of export of arms and corn to Scotland. Exiit præterea a curia regis præceptum publicum, ne quis arma vel bladum vel aliquod genus victualium ad Scotos transferret; si quis autem hujus præcepti transgressor inveniretur, tanquam proditor et hostis publicus puniretur. Unde Johannes Bodetourtus cum manu armata ex parte una, et alii magnates ex altera, meatus marinos observabant, et ne quid in subsidium hostium differretur summo opere procurabant. Itaque opere et opera eorum in brevi sic actum est ut tanta esset apud Scotos bladi penuria quod pro centum solidis venderetur quarterium frumenti in Scotia. Pembroke and Badlesmere sent to the border. Missi sunt etiam ad partes Northumbrorum comes de Penbrok et Bartholomæus de Badelesmere cum quingentis armatis ad fines illos tuendos et ad frequentes insultus Scotorum propulsandos, ut sic virtus eorum

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[1] *et*] om. MS.

undique lacessita, et machinatio eorum pro parte refrænata, minus proficeret ad singula. A.D. 1315.

Dum hæc aguntur in Anglia Robertus de Brutz de aliis negotiis deliberat in Scotia. Nam exercitum copiosum adunavit, et civitatem de Cardoil obsedit. Sane hæc urbs Scotis semper erat odiosa; hæc urbs Scotis semper formidanda, incursus eorum frequenter excepit et volatus eorum multociens impedivit. Hanc igitur si capere posset, usque ad Novum Castrum nullus sibi resisteret. Præmiserat[1] quoque fratrem suum Edwardum cum electa manu militum in Hiberniam, qui gentem illam adversus regem Angliæ excitaret, et terram si posset suæ dominationi subiceret. Et erat rumor quod, si ibidem ad votum proficeret, statim ad partes Walliæ se transferret, et Walenses similiter contra regem nostrum procuraret. Hæc enim duo genera faciliter in rebellionem excitantur, et jugum servitutis ægre ferentes dominationem Anglorum execrantur.

Robert Bruce besieges Carlisle.

Edward Bruce goes to Ireland.

Designs on Wales.

Justiciarius autem Hiberniæ, Edmundus Botiler nomine, audiens Scotos in terram de Hulvestre appulisse, de fidelibus regis congregavit exercitum, et Scotis eorumque fautoribus fecit insultum. In primo autem congressu fugati sunt Scoti ad montana quasi greges ovium dispersi per pascua; habitant siquidem in montanis et nemoribus illius terræ Hibernienses silvestres, terras non colunt, sed de animalibus et eorum lacticiniis vivunt; et, si quandoque panibus indigeant, ad villas Anglorum super maritima descendunt; vendunt autem animalia et comparant sibi frumenta. Hos et eorum regulos associavit sibi Edwardus contra Anglicos. Si comes de Hulvestre fuerit fidelis non est enim timendum ab eorum insidiis.

Edmund Butler, justice of Ireland, drives the Scots to the hills.

Manners of the Irish.

Exivit interim falsus rumor per totam Angliam quod exercitus noster in Hibernia Scotos disperserat, quod Edwardus de Brutz perierat, quod vix unus ex

False report of victory in Ireland.

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[1] *Præmiserat*] promiserat, MS.

A.D. 1315.

The siege of Carlisle raised.

Scotis vivus remanserat. Unde Robertus de Brutz tum propter rumores desperatos, tum quia audivit comitem Penbrokyæ cum multis armatis noviter advenire, obsidionem reliquit, et versus Scotiam iter arripuit. Videntes hii qui erant infra civitatem quod exercitus Scotorum recederet, [exierunt] post eos, diu persequentes a tergo. Unde in illa persecutione multi ex Scotis perierunt, plures vero læsi, et quidam remanserunt captivi.

The weakness of England accounted for, by the diminution of great earldoms.

Mirabitur forsan aliquis in posterum quomodo gens Scotorum audaciam resistendi concepit, et cur sic repente virtus Anglorum defecerit. Revera populus sine duce facile dispergitur, et membra deficiunt cum caput deprimitur. Olim reges Angliæ, dum contra hostes erigerent vexillum, quindecim comites et plures sequebantur ad bellum. Nunc autem quinque vel sex tantum regi nostro ferunt auxilium. Comitatus Cornubiæ, Marescalliæ et Cestriæ in manu regis sunt hodie. Comes Lyncolniæ nuper obiit, comes Gloverniæ in bello cecidit, et comes Warewykyæ infirmus occubuit.

The loss of the earl of Gloucester;

De comite Gloucestriæ censeo dolendum quia tam potens et juvenis tam præmature decessit, quod heredem de corpore suo non reliquit, et tamen uxor ejus comitissa per annum jam et amplius expectatur paritura; et licet nunc pareret non video quo jure puer hereditatem vendicaret, quia jure cavetur quod, si posthumus ultra undecimum mensem natus fuerit, hereditatem defuncti vendicare non poterit. Igitur si hereditas comitis ad sorores descendat, tres partes fieri continget, et scutum quod semper fuit integrum jam erit tripertitum. Sed comes Warewykæ, unianimis[2] fuisset tota patria pro eo: consilio ejus [et] ingenio ordinationes prodierunt, et ceteri comites eo audito multa fecerunt. Heredem reliquit sed valde juvenem.

and of the earl of Warwick.

[1] *censeo*] senseo, MS.

[2] Hearne read the MS. "vicinius," and conjectured "si in vivis fuisset, fuisset tota patria pro eo."

A.D. 1315.

Credo constanter quod hæc vindicta Dei, hæc mutatio dexteræ Excelsi, propter peccata et scelera nostra duces nostros præripiat, et populus terræ indefensus intereat.

It was a judgment of God.

Temeritatis quidem argui possem si patriam meam, si proprium genus, infamarem, sed, si vera loqui licet aut convenit, gens Anglorum præ ceteris nationibus in tribus excedit, in superbia, in dolo et in perjurio. Modernos homines et maxime juvenes reputo superbos quia contumaces, et, cum superbia initium sit omnium malorum, abierunt hodie de vitio in vitium, de superbia in dolum et perjurium. In omni regno circa mare Græcum reperies multos de genere Anglorum, et vulgo dicitur et fama nuntiat quod in hiis præ ceteris dolus habitat. Est et species doli maxima et quidem frequens in Anglia; de hiis loquor qui mutuum accipiunt et statutis diebus debitum non solvunt. Nam dolo facit qui detinet quod eum restituere oportet. Omni malitiæ potest obviari, sed mali debitores non possunt castigari. Si non mutuo inimicus ero, si repeto amicitias perdo. Quid ergo melius est, non mutuando inimicum habere, quam [1] mutuum perdere et inimicitias nichilominus incurrere. Merlinus de vobis ait "væ genti perjuræ," ostendens propter perjurium [2] aliquod excidium nobis evenire.[3]

Our great natural faults, pride, craft, and perjury.

Digest, 17, i. 8. § 9.

Omnes fere lites et placita quæ agitantur in regis curia per assisas terminantur in patria. Porro cum ad assisam ventum fuerit, qui plus dare sufficit proculdubio optinebit. Heu omnis religio, omnis dignitas, et omnis potestas cedit pretio. Hinc quidam festive ait,

Corruption of juries.

"Manus ferens munera pium facit impium;
"Nummus jungit fœdera, dat [4] nummus consilium.
"Nummus in prælatis est pro jure satis,
"Vos qui judicatis nummo locum datis."

Per alia quædam signa apparet manus Dei contra

Other signs.

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[1] *quam*] quasi, MS.

[2] *perjurium*] perjurum, MS.

[3] "Væ perjuræ genti, quia urbs "inclyta propter eam ruet;" Geoff. Mon. lib. vii. c. 4.

[4] *dat*] dati, MS. Hearne conjectures datus.

A.D. 1315. Floods; nos extenta. Nam anno præterito tanta fuit abundantia pluviæ quod vix licuit hominibus frumenta colligere vel horreo salva recondere. Anno vero præsenti deterius evenit. Nam inundatio pluviarum omne fere semen consumpsit, adeo ut vaticinium Ysayæ jam videretur expletum esse; ait enim decem jugera vinearum destruction of hay; faciunt lagunculam unam, et triginta modii sementis Isa. v. 10. faciunt modios tres: et in plerisque locis fœnum tam diu sub aquis latuit quod nec falcari nec colligi potuit. loss of sheep and other stock. Oves autem communiter perierunt et alia animalia subita peste ceciderunt. Valde autem nobis timendum est ne, si Dominus post hæc flagella incorrigibiles nos inveniat, homines et pecora simul disperdat; et constanter credo quod, nisi intercederet Anglicana religio, dispersi fuissemus elapso tempore multo.

Rising of Adam Banastre against the earl of Lancaster. Accidit interea ut quidam miles, Adam de Banastre [1] nomine, de domo et familia comitis Lancastriæ, perpetrasset homicidium, et de venia desperans ac peccatum suum augmentans, insurgere cœpit contra dominum suum. Credidit enim regi placere si comitem infestaret, qui totiens regi restiterat, qui totiens regem initum [2] coegerat [3] mutare consilium. Unde terras comitis cœpit invadere et præcipue comitatum Lancastriæ, et, secundum relatum aliquorum, quasi a rege jussus, baneriam regis erexit, et sub hoc colore multos auxiliarios secum assumpsit, castella comitis latenter intravit, arma in exercitum Scotorum præparata et multam pecuniam simul asportavit. Erant autem quasi octingenti viri in auxilium ejus procurati, quidam pretio conducti, quidam mortis timore compulsi, quos vel oportuit patriam relinquere vel secum in arma concurrere. Audiens ergo comes proditoris insaniam, et considerans rem esse periculosam, statim præcepit militibus suis ut infidelem illum prudenter investigarent, et inventum

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[1] *Banastre*] Hearne read his MS. Danastre, and suggested Dancastre.

[2] *initum*] Hearne conjectured invitum.

[3] *coegerat*] cogerat, MS.

prudenter invaderent. Ibant ergo armatorum quasi sexcenti in mortem Adæ de Banastre omnes accensi. Et cum venissent prope locum ubi congregaverat Adam exercitum suum, diviserunt se in duas turmas ut prima veniens hostes invaderet, quæ si non sufficeret, altera superveniens negotium consummaret.

A.D. 1315. The earl's plan for seizing him.

Hoc postquam Adam de Banastre cognovit, cum fautoribus et complicibus suis primam turmam acriter excepit, et ipsam sine dubio penitus dissipasset, nisi secunda turma recenter advenisset. Adam vero et sui sequaces adversarios accrescere videntes, et multo plures adesse putantes, jam vacillare cœperunt, et post modicum adversariorum impetum non ferentes fugam inierunt. Sed fugientes passim cæduntur a tergo. Porro persequentium tota fuit intentio, ceterorum signiferum Adam comprehendere, et vivum si possent comiti præsentare. Fugerat[1] autem in quoddam horreum, et ibidem latitabat, sed modicum; non enim diu latitare potuit qui totam patriam velut hostis publicus debellavit. Adversarii ejus domum obsederunt et ipsum ad deditionem sæpius monuerunt; sed ipse delicti sui conscius, et quocunque se verteret de morte securus, audaciam ex desperatione concepit, et se adversariis audacter opposuit, quosdam eorum occidit et plures ex eis male vulneravit. Tandem, quia sine magno periculo vivum capere non poterant, impressionem in eum facientes ipsum occiderunt, et caput ejus auferentes comiti detulerunt. Sic Ciba filius Botri dominum suum David regem expungnavit, quem Joab princeps militiæ fugientem in Abbella capite privavit.

Adam plans resistance, but has to fly.

He stands a siege, and will not be taken alive.

He is killed, and his head brought to the earl.

Sam. xx. 21.

Paganus de Torborvile curam terræ de Glamorgan acceperat a rege, unde ministrales prius constitutos novis subrogatis cœpit amovere; quamobrem Leulinus Bren commotus est, nec poterat Pagano quicquam loqui pacifice. Erat autem Leulinus ille Walensis vir mag-

War between Payn Turberville and Llewelyn Bren.

[1] *Fugerat*] Fugeat, MS.

A.D. 1315. Llewelyn's utterances against Payn.

nus et potens in partibus suis. Hic vivente comite Gloucestriæ magnum officium sub ipso gerebat, et nunc præposito Pagano potestatem sibi sublatam ægre ferebat. Unde Paganum contumeliis frequenter aggreditur, et pluribus audientibus in has minas invehitur: "Veni-" ent," inquit, "dies, et cessare faciam superbiam Pagani, " reddam sibi vices quas impendit michi." Propter quod accusatus est Leulinus apud regem quod seditiosus esset, quod occasiones rebellandi quæreret, et, nisi rex diligenter præcaveret, Leulinus de novo Walenses excitaret. Audiens Leulinus conditionem suam sic apud regem deterioratam, de consilio amicorum accessit ad curiam, volens si posset se ipsum excusare, aut saltem injuriam suam caute palliare. Sprevit eum rex, jurans et protestans quod filius mortis esset, si crimen 1 Sam. xx. 31. ei objectum manifestum foret: habuitque in mandatis Lyncolniam venire, et ibidem super hiis responsum expectare.

He is accused before the king and summoned to Lincoln.

He determines to rebel, surprises Caerphilly castle, and burns the outer ward.

Leulinus ergo, accepto tali mandato, clam et festinanter ad partes suas rediit, et quod ante proposuerat statim patefecit. Prius quidem fecerat [1] verba malivola, sed jam de verbis perventum est ad verbera. Nam quadam die, dum custos de Kaerfili extra castrum curiam teneret, supervenit Leulinus cum filiis et fautoribus suis ad constabularium, captum secum abduxit, quibusdam ministris cæsis et pluribus qui ad curiam illam convenerant male vulneratis. Castrum quoque statim invasit, sed custodibus resistentibus intrare non potuit, ulteriorem vero custodiam totam incendit. Jam palam factæ sunt inimicitiæ; Leulinus minatur Paganum occidere. Paganus declinavit ejus insidias donec accresceret vires suas.

He ravages Payn's district.

Interim Leulinus ipse terras sub tuitione Pagani constitutas violenter aggreditur, cædit, incendit et deprædatur. Associaverat sibi enim in auxilium quasi

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[1] *fecerat*] fecerit, MS.

decem milia Walensium. Omnia bona sua, boves, vaccas et cetera victualia ad montes transtulerunt; nam in cavernis montium et in latebris nemorum erat eorum refugium. Hiis et aliis malis perpetratis ac domino regi notificatis, præcepit rex servis suis dicens, "Ite "velociter, et persequimini proditorem illum, ne forte ex "mora deterius eveniat, et tota Wallia contra nos insur-"gat." Committiturque negotium comiti Herfordiæ, nam res ipsa præcipue videbatur ipsum tangere; terra enim de Breynok quæ ad comitem pertinet terram de Glamorgan collateralem habet, et juxta poetam "Tunc "tua res agitur paries dum proximus ardet."

A.D. 1315. The king orders him to be arrested, and sends the earl of Hereford against him.

Abiit ergo comes in terram suam ut persequeretur Leulinum, et uterque Rogerus de Mortimer ferebat auxilium. Willelmus de Monte Acuto præfectus[1] militiæ regis ex parte una, Johannes Gyffard et qui cum eo erant ex altera venerunt. Henricus de Lancastria, et alii barones et milites, terras in vicinio habentes, opem tulerunt, ut sic Walenses undique obsessi[2] nullatenus haberent locum diffugii. Videns ergo Leulinus quod male errasset, quod ad resistendum non sufficeret, Walenses[3] enim bis vel ter Anglicos prædanter acceperant, sed semper ubique deterius reportaverant, obtulit se comiti sub conditione; ut scilicet vitam[4] et membra, terras et cetera bona mobilia salva liceret habere, et pro satisfactione delicti optulit magnam summam argenti; sed noluit comes eum admittere, nisi simpliciter se vellet reddere. Tandem cum exercitus noster appropinquasset et excubias Walensium jam didicisset, Leulinus suos homines sic cœpit alloqui: "Non est," inquit, "tutum "cum Anglis congredi; ego dedi causam negotio; "ego me tradam pro toto populo: melius est enim

The earl collects the lords of the marches against Llewelyn.

He offers to submit, but the earl refuses to accept him conditionally.

He addresses his men.

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[1] *præfectus*] profectus, MS.
[2] *obsessi*] obcessi, MS.
[3] *Walenses*] Walensis, MS.
[4] *vitam*] vita, MS.

A.D. 1315. "ut unus moriatur quam tota gens exulet vel gladio "perimatur."

He surrenders unconditionally.

Ascendens ergo Leulinus de montibus reddidit se comiti, subiciens se penitus regiæ voluntati; misitque eum comes ad regem ut misericordiam expectaret aut legem. Hæc est consuetudo Walensium ut vetus insania. Si quieverint per decennium statim respirant ad prælium, et quod multo tempore congesserint vadit in exterminium.[1] Leulinus ap Griffyth et frater ejus David poterant in pace vixisse, sed rebellantes vitam perdiderunt et principatum Walliæ. Verum si consuetæ rebellionis causam velis perscrutari,[2] hoc pro ratione poterit assignari. Walenses, prius dicti Britones, olim dicti quidem erant nobiles et totius Angliæ regnum possidentes; sed supervenientibus Saxonibus ejecti fuerunt, et regnum et[3] nomen simul amiserunt. Terra fertilis et plana cessit Saxonibus; terra sterilis et montuosa remansit Walensibus. Porro ex dictis Merlini prophetæ, sperant adhuc Angliam recuperare. Hinc est quod frequenter insurgunt Walenses, effectum vaticinii implere volentes; sed quia debitum tempus ignorant sæpe decipiuntur et in vanum laborant.

Recurrent rebellions in Wales.

They hope to recover Britain, according to Merlin's prophecies.

A.D. 1316. January. Parliament at Lincoln.

Dominus rex apud Lyncolniam[4] barones convocaverat, sed propter guerram Leulini Bren, de paucis consuluerat.[5] Perambulatio tamen forestarum ibidem conceditur, et comes Lancastriæ principalis consiliarius regis efficitur. Ordinationes super victualibus prius factæ penitus dissolvuntur. Itinerantes enim per patriam multum gravabantur. Nam ex quo processit illud statutum, nichil vel modicum in foro reperiebatur expositum, cum tamen prius habundaret forum venali-

The law on prices repealed.

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[1] *exterminium*] exterminum, MS.

[2] *velis perscrutari*] vel perscrutar, MS.

[3] *et*] om. MS.

[4] The parliament met at Lincoln Jan. 27, and sat till Feb. 20; Parl. Writs. II. i. 152, 157.

[5] *consuluerat*] consulerat, MS.

bus, licet cara viderentur transeuntibus. Porro melius est emere care quam nichil emendum ad opus invenire. Nam licet raritas annonam facit cariorem, habundantia subsequens reddet meliorem. A.D. 1316 Bad economic result.

Transeunte solempnitate Paschali cœpit caristia bladi vehementer augeri. Non est visa temporibus nostris in Anglia nec audita centum [annis] retroactis tanta caristia. Nam Londoniis et locis vicinis vendebatur modius tritici pro quadraginta denariis, et aliis partibus terræ ubi minor erat concursus hominum triginta denarii erat commune pretium. Porro durante penuria crevit et fames valida, et post famem dura pestilentia, ex qua moriuntur in diversis locis plus quam milia. A quibusdam etiam audivi relatum, quod in partibus Northumbrorum canes et equi et alia immunda sumebantur ad esum. Hii enim propter frequentes incursiones Scotorum majori tædio laborabant, quos maledicti Scoti suis victualibus cotidie spoliabant. Heu terra Angliæ! quæ olim ex tua fertilitate aliis terris solebas subvenire, nunc pauper et indigens cogeris mendicare. Terra fructifera vertitur in salsuginem; aeris intemperies devorat pinguedinem; seritur frumentum et procreatur lollium. Eveniunt autem omnia a malitia habitantium in ea. Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo. Subsannant et derident nos qui sunt in circuitu nostro. Dicunt tamen sapientes astrologiæ has cæli tempestates naturaliter evenisse; Saturnus enim securus et frigidus asperitates procreat inutiles seminibus; triennio jam regnans cursum consummavit, et sibi mitis Jubiter ordine successit. Porro Jove regnante cessabunt pluviales undæ, valles habundabunt frumento et campi replebuntur ubertate; etenim Dominus dabit benignitatem, et terra nostra dabit fructum suum, et cetera.

After Easter the dearth increases. Famine and pestilence. Especially in the north. All this is a judgment. Jerem. xii. 4. Ps. xliv. 14. Astrological explanations and anticipations. Ps. lxxxv. 12.

Jampridem orta fuit dissensio in villa Bristolliæ super consuetudinibus in portu maris et in foro, super privilegiis et aliis rebus, in quibus quatuordecim de Discontent at Bristol.

A.D. 1316.

Quarrel between the fourteen and the commons, at Bristol.

majoribus ejusdem villæ videbantur prærogativam habere. Obstitit[1] communitas, asserens burgenses omnes unius conditionis esse et ob hoc in libertatibus et privilegiis pares existere. Super hujuscemodi rebus frequentes inter se habuerunt altercationes, donec in curia regis impetrarent judices qui de causa cognoscerent et ipsam debite terminarent. Porro quatuordecim illi prædicti procuraverant in inquisitione forenses associari. Credebantur insuper et ipsi conducti et ad partem illorum quatuordecim totaliter inclinari. Allegavit communitas libertatibus villæ fore contrarium causas intrinsecas ventilari[2] judicio forensium, sed justitiarii tales allegationes frivolas reputabant; unde nec libertatibus nec[3] privilegiis eorum in hoc deferebant. Videntes ergo majores communitatis exceptiones suas repelli, jus eorum favore potius quam ratione confundi, conturbati nimirum exierunt ab aula ubi de consuetudine tractantur judicia, nuntiaveruntque plebi dicentes, "Venerunt judices adversariis nostris faventes, et "in præjudicium nostrum forenses admittunt, unde et "jura nostra sine fine peribunt." Ad hæc verba vulgus insipiens in seditionem vertitur, et totus populus præ tumultu timore concutitur. Redeuntes denuo cum multo comitatu venerunt in aulam ubi jus eorum jam vertunt[4] in injuriam. Nam pungnis et fustibus obviam sibi turbam invadere cœperunt, et ipsa die subito fere viginti homines fatue peremerunt. Timor namque non vanus nobiles et ignobiles tantus invasit ut plures per fenestras de summo solarii in plateam exilierunt, et crura vel tibias in terram decidentes enormiter læserunt.[5] Timebant et judices, humiliter petentes in pace recedere, quos major villæ, plebis insaniam vix tandem compescens, illæsos fecit abire.

A royal inquiry is begun.

The judges contemn the privileges of the commons.

A rising of the people.

Twenty men killed in the riot.

The judges leave the town.

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[1] *obstitit*] abstitit, MS.
[2] *ventilari*] ventelari, MS.
[3] *nec*] in, MS.
[4] *vertunt*] vertent, MS.
[5] *læserunt*] læderunt, MS.

Indictati fuerunt super hoc quasi octoginta viri, et habita inquisitione diligenter coram justitiariis regiis apud Gloucestriam, condempnati, postea de comitatu exiguntur, et non venientes neque parentes exules fieri præcipiuntur. Ipsi vero bene muniti continuerunt se intra villam suam; non parebunt regis mandato nisi per manum validam.

A.D. 1316. Eighty men, condemned for the riot, refuse to surrender.

Quatuordecim illi prædicti, qui adversabantur communitati, domos et redditus relinquentes a villa recesserunt; nam sub tali tempestate morari cum adversariis inutile censuerunt. Per duos annos et amplius duravit ista rebellio communitatis Bristolliæ, et tamen ex parte regis pluries sunt moniti ad pacem venire. Maluit enim rex pœnam grassantium si vellent mitigare, quam plenam vindictam expetendo bonam villam destruere. Persiterunt autem ipsi semper rebelles, mandatum et præceptum regis semper contempnentes. Non venerunt vocati; non paruerunt moniti, causantes omnem processum contra eos habitum injustum, quia privilegiis et libertatibus eorum omnino contrarium.

Flight of the fourteen.

The townsmen resist the king's orders for two years.

Nolens[1] ergo rex malitiæ eorum ulterius satisfacere, milites et majores de comitatu Gloverniæ vocantur Londonias, quibus injunxit in virtute sacramenti ibidem præstiti causam Bristolliæ et cujus esset injuria patenter edicere. Qui omnes dixerunt communitatem Bristolliæ partem sinistram fovere, et octoginta viros auctores injuriæ. Misit ergo Bristolliæ Adolmarum comitem de Penbrok, qui vocatis majoribus communitatis dixit eis ex parte regis: "Dominus rex," inquit, "causam vestram ventilans, vos reos invenit, et ut "juri pareatis vos monet et præcipit. Homicidas et "reos illos tradite, et vos et villa vestra in pace "manete. Promitto quod, si sic feceritis, dominum "regem erga vos satis placabilem et misericordem

The king summons the magnates of Gloucestershire to London.

He sends the earl of Pembroke to Bristol.

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[1] *Nolens*] Nolentes, MS.

A.D. 1316.

The men of Bristol reply to the earl of Pembroke justifying their conduct.

" invenietis." Respondit communitas: "Nos injuriæ " auctores non fuimus; nos in dominum regem nichil " deliquimus. Quidam nitebantur jura nostra tollere, " et nos sicut decuit e contra defendere. Iccirco, si " dominus rex ea quæ nobis inponuntur remiserit, si " vitam et membra, redditus et prædia nobis conces- " serit, sibi ut domino parebimus, et omnia quæcunque " voluerit faciemus; alioquin persistemus ut cœpimus, " et libertates et privilegia nostra usque ad mortem " defendemus."

Bristol is besieged by the king's order.

Audiens rex contumaciam eorum, et considerans rem esse mali exempli, jussit villam obsideri,[1] et non recedere donec caperentur obsessi. Et statim obsessa est villa, munitiones contra eam et propugnacula facta. Mauricus de Berkele observabat viam maris. Aderat Johannes de Cherltone regis camerarius, Rogerus de Mortimer, Johannes de Wylinthone, et alii barones et milites quam plurimi, et Bartholomæus de Badesmere procurator totius negotii. Erant etiam in castro quod est villæ contiguum viri cum petrariis et aliis machinis facientes assultum. Per aliquot dies obsessi nitebantur villam defendere, quia sperabant exteriores non longam moram facere, tum quia comes Gloucestriæ dudum prius sic villam obsesserat, sed infecto negotio tandem recesserat, tum quia sciebant regem in Scotiam tendere, et suorum procerum auxilio indigere. Fefellit eos spes vacua; non recedent nec villa subjecta. Nam[2] petraria castri vehementius acta conquassabat muros et ædificia. Quod videntes oppidani turbati sunt et timore concussi, timentes totam villam in deditionem[3] [tradunt] et majores capti missi sunt in carcerem. Puniri non potuit tota multitudo, sed multis grassantibus opus est exemplo. Jam sciunt Bristollienses se male errasse, et rebellionem suam nichil

Hopes of the besieged.

They surrender.

[1] *obsideri*] obsederi, MS.

[2] *Nam*] Hearne read "Non."

[3] Some word like "tradidere" is wanted. Hearne.

A.D. 1316. Impolicy of the rebels.

profecisse.[1] Si conditionem pacis oblatam prius acceptassent, tota fere communitas et bona eorum tuto remansissent, sed quia malo sunt usi consilio relicti sunt omnes regis judicio. Inutile quidem fuit consilium dum utilitas privatorum transit in commune dispendium. Sane meminisse debuerant obsessorum apud Bedeford[2] finem desolatum, et eorum pariter qui apud Keneleswortho contra regem tenuerunt castrum: illi quidem capti et omnes fere suspensi; isti vero vel in carcerem detrusi vel in exilium deportati.

It is madness for an islander to resist the king.

Quid est regi resistere nisi propriam vitam contempnere et omnia bona pariter amittere? Nam si insulanus[3] contra regem insulanum rebellat, proinde ac si vinculatus cum magistro carceris contendat. Per hujusmodi dissensiones deterioratur patria, et multipliciter læduntur indigenæ; quam,[4] si rex manum rigidam et correctricem apponeret, sedaret facillime. Sed hodie frequenter accidit quod, licet aliquem deliquisse constiterit, pro muneribus justificatur; fovetur impius, et in[5] innocentem culpa retorquetur. Ex hoc quippe crescit audacia nocendi. Nam facilitas veniæ incentivum præbet delinquendi. Et si quæratur cujus auctoritate fiant talia, dici potest quod tota iniquitas originaliter exiit a curia. Avaritia enim curialium votis subsequitur singulorum. Hii sunt de quibus loquitur David in Psalmis "Dextera eorum repleta est

All these miseries proceed from the court.

Ps. xxvi. 10. "muneribus." Iccirco nil magis utile,[6] necessarium foret in curia, quam ut rex tales collaterales haberet in camera, qui pro loco et tempore regem excessibus suppliciter corriperent et impiorum satellitum cum viderint expedire facta suggererent;[7] propter quod vir

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[1] *profecisse*] perficisse, MS.

[2] Both the examples are taken from the history of Henry III.: the capture of Bedford in 1224, and that of Kenilworth in 1266.

[3] *insulanus*] insulamus, MS.

[4] *quam*] quas, Hearne suggests.

[5] *in*] om. MS.

[6] *utile*] "et" is omitted apparently.

[7] *suggererent*] suggerentur, MS.

A.D. 1316. quidam religiosus et notæ auctoritatis confessori domini regis misit litteras sub hiis verbis:[1]

Good advice sent to the king's confessor.

"Cum rex a regendo dicatur, utpote qui populum "legibus gubernare et gladio debeat ab inimicis de"fendere, dum bene regit convenienter rex appel"latur; dum spoliat tyrannus magis esse judicatur. "Sane rex noster transiens per patriam bona homi"num capit et nil vel modicum aut male solvit. Sed "et hii frequenter, quibus ex tali causa aliquid de"betur, ut labores evitent, de quota remittenda faci"unt pactum, ut eo citius solvatur residuum. Olim "quidem gaudebant incolæ regis adventantis vultum "aspicere, nunc vero, quia in adventu regis populus "læditur, recessum ejus valde præstolantur et abeun"tem imprecantur ut nunquam revertatur. Rex etiam "religiosis domibus nimis—"

[Bina folia sive quatuor paginæ infortunio plane dolendo interciderunt. *Hearne*] veniret.

A.D. 1317.

Civil dissensions between the king and Lancaster.

Revera anno præterito ordinatum erat quod dominus rex sine consilio comitum et procerum nichil grave, nichil arduum inchoaret, et comitem[2] Lancastriæ de consilio suo principaliter retineret. Sed quicquid placet domino regi domestici[3] comitis nituntur evertere; et quicquid placet comiti domestici[3] regis dicunt proditorium esse; et ita ad suggestionem seminatoris zizaniæ interponunt se utriusque familiares, et dominos suos, per quos deberet terra defendi, non sinunt esse concordes. Siquidem Robertus de Brutz jam per multos annos, cum vastaret terras in Marchia, prædia comitis semper dimisit intacta. Sperat enim, ut creditur, procurante comite pœnam diu comminatam evadere, et regnum ante vendicatum sub aliquo colore pacis retinere. Timet forsan et comes ne rex aliquando, memor injuriæ quam exercuit comes in Petrum,

Robert Bruce spares the earl's lands.

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[1] The language of the remonstrance closely resembles that of Archbishop Islip's "Speculum "Regis."

[2] *comitem*] comite, MS.

[3] *domestici*] domesticis, MS. in both places.

ultionem exspectet cum viderit[1] oportunum. Iccirco, ut dicitur, nititur comes Robertum de Brutz in regno Scotiæ solidare, ut, si forsan solus contra regem non possit resistere, saltem Roberti de Brutz fretus auxilio minas regias compellat arescere; sed in hiis an fidei transgressor, an læsæ majestatis reus, comes habeatur, judicio majorum relinquatur: nam jure naturali saluti propriæ per fas et nefas[2] licet consulere. Sic David fugiens a facie domini sui regis Saul sibi providit, et ad regem Ghet cum suis omnibus prudenter convolavit.

A.D. 1317. Rumoured policy of Lancaster.

1 Sam. xxi. 10.

Interea mandaverat[3] archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniis totius Angliæ clerum conveniri; petiitque idem archiepiscopus, cum ceteris episcopis ab aula electis, de media vel tertia parte bonorum ecclesiasticorum domino regi subveniri. Videntes illi pauci episcopi, qui ab ecclesia erant assumpti, primatem suum cum majori parte coepiscoporum in partem domini regis inclinatum, jam in unam et eandem sententiam convenerunt, et petitionem archipræsulis rationabilem fieri decreverunt; sed communitas cleri pluribus rationibus ab hujusmodi præstatione nitebatur absolvi; tum quia sine[4] auctoritate apostolica speciali non debet laicis de bonis ecclesiasticis aliqua portio concedi, tum quia annona cara et annus sterilis, portioneque regis et necessariis reservatis, non haberent rectores quid erogarent pauperibus. Responderunt prælati auctoritatem apostolicam in hoc casu non debere requiri, quia, cum rex infra regni sui terminos expungnatur, regi tanquam commune negotium gerenti communiter debet subveniri. Similiter [per] sterilitatem[5] anni non oportet

Assembly of the clergy (Oct. 1316).

The bishops vote an aid, but the lower clergy demur.

Argument of the prelates.

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[1] *exspectet cum viderit*] exspectat cum videris, MS.

[2] *nefas*] nefa, MS.

[3] *mandaverat*] mandaverit, MS.

[4] *tum quia sine*] quia tamen sine, MS.

[5] *per sterilitatem*] per is omitted in the MS., and Hearne conjecturally reads "sterilitas."

A.D. 1317. The clergy agree to a grant.

præstationem tam necessariam impediri,[1] nam mediante archiepiscopo diebus oportunis fiet solutio. Tandem procuratores cleri, importunitate petentium victi, decimam[2] ecclesiæ domino regi concesserunt, et diem Purificationis proxime sequentem, et eundem anno revoluto iterum venientem, dies solutionis acceperunt.

Iniquity of oppressing the church with taxation.

Sane timendum est ne hujusmodi collecta, quæ gravat ecclesiam, domino regi cedat in ruinam. Nam bona ecclesiæ sunt bona pauperum. Nunquam pauperum, nunquam ecclesiæ spolia prosperum habuerunt auspicium. Certe sub Pharaone, cum ex principali decreto omnes ad solutionem quintæ partis generaliter urgerentur, sacerdotes tamen fuerunt ab observantia (Gen. xlvii. 26.) et onere illius constitutionis immunes. In libro etiam Numeri, ad figuram perpetuæ libertatis præcepit Leviticam tribum ab omni publica functione liberam esse, summi pontificis[3] duntaxat arbitrio subjacere. Quid aliud potest aut debet exigere princeps a pontificibus vel a clero, quam ut[4] incessanter fiat oratio ab ecclesia ad Deum pro eo? Omnis enim pontifex ex (Heb. v. 1.) hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur in hiis quæ sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona et sacrificia pro rege et populo, et, si iratus est Dominus, sacerdos medius intercedat, et in tempore iracundiæ facta[5] est reconciliatio. Iratus Dominus populum suum Israel (Ps. cvi. 23.) delere decreverat, stetitque Moises in confractione in conspectu ejus, et motum divinæ indignationis oratione placavit.[6] Item flamma divinæ animadversionis[7] desæviente in populo, Aaron arrepto thuribulo[8] medius (Num. xvi. 46, 48.) inter vivos et mortuos se flammæ objecit, et cessavit

Function of the clergy to pray.

Instances from Scripture.

[1] *impediri*] Hearne conjecturally reads impedire.

[2] A tenth was granted by the clergy on the 11th of October 1316. Wilkins, Conc. ii. 458.

[3] *summi pontificis*] summus pontifex, MS.

[4] *ut*] om. MS.

[5] *facta*] factus, MS.

[6] *placavit*] placuit, MS.

[7] Flamam divinæ animadversationis, MS.

[8] *thuribulo*] turibilo, MS.

Ps. cv. 30. quassatio; Moise orante, et manus erigente, Hebræi vicerunt; et sacerdotibus vociferantibus ad Dominum muri Jerico corruerunt. Hæc est vis orationis et S. Matt. xvi. 18. sacrificii; adversus non prævalebunt vectes inferi.[1] Recolat utinam dominus rex non ad oppressionem sed ad tuitionem ecclesiæ se[2] potestatem gladii ab ecclesia suscepisse. Sed et locum et officium in quo posuit eum Dominus agnoscat, nec de thesauris ecclesiæ, quæ debentur pauperibus, sed de fiscali ærario bellum inferat inimicis.

A.D. 1317. The force of prayer.

Instante jam verno tempore misit rex nuntios ad curiam Romanam, qui cum venissent petierunt ex parte regis Angliæ quatinus dominus papa dictum regem ab observatione[3] quarundam ordinationum, quibus idem rex juramento tenebatur astrictus, dignaretur[4] absolvere. Asserebant enim prædictas ordinationes, licet de communi assensu procerum editas et confirmatas, in perniciem regni et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ periculose nimis redundare. Petierunt etiam sententiam excommunicationis in Robertum de Brutz et omnes sibi adhærentes fulminari, et terram Scotorum interdicto supponi, donec idem Robertus super commissis erga regem Angliæ se reformaret, et regnum Scotiæ, quod injuste occupare dinoscitur, penitus relinqueret. Supplicarunt insuper domino papæ quatinus domino regi qui totum thesaurum suum[5] pro defensione regni sui, et per aliquod tempus dignaretur subvenire, adicientes regem intentum, pacificato regno suo, si competeret facultas, summa devotione contra paganos transfretare. Ad hæc respondit papa regem Angliæ ab observatione prædictarum ordinationum absolvi non debere, cum, sicut acceperat, fidedignorum studio fuissent confectæ, quos non erat verisimile in

The king sends to the pope for absolution from his oath to the ordinances; and for a sentence against the Scots. They ask temporary aid for the king. The pope's reply.

[1] *inferi*] inferri, MS.
[2] *se*] sed, MS.
[3] *ab observatione*], ad observationem, MS.
[4] *dignaretur*] digneretur, MS.
[5] *Impenderat* or some equivalent word omitted; Hearne.

A.D. 1317. He refuses the king's requests,

prædjudicium regni vel ecclesiæ aliquid ordinasse. Decrevit etiam dominus papa regnum Scotiæ interdicto non esse supponendum donec constaret de jure partium. Denique ecclesiam vel decimas ecclesiæ noluit dominus papa potestati laicorum submittere, sed suæ[1] tantum ordinationi reservaret, et, si regem Angliæ in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ armari contingeret,[2] de fructibus ecclesiæ, si necesse foret, sumptus habundanter ministraret. Promisit insuper dominus papa legatos in Angliam mittere, qui de hiis diligenter inquirerent et auctoritate apostolica omnes controversias fine debito terminarent.

but will send legates.

Parliament called.

Interim veniente[3] tempore quo solent reges ad bella procedere, vocavit rex proceres ad parliamentum ut juxta tenorem ordinationum, antequam procederetur ad bellum, in communi parliamento[4] deliberaretur quid esset agendum; sed die statuto adveniente non venit comes Lancastriæ. Interim sub fidelitate et homagio monetur adesse parliamento; sed, nec sic veniens, sub forisfactura omnium quæ possidebat in Anglia, copiam sui facere jubetur in curia. Tunc misit comes nuntios qui excusarent eum coram rege et allegarent similiter causas absentiæ; qui statim jussa complentes accesserunt ad regem dicentes: "Domine, si placet, offendi vel "mirari non debetis si comes Lancastriæ ad parliamentum non venit. Timet enim quorundam insidias "capitales quos curia regia tuetur et nutrit. De inimicitiis eorum jam constat evidenter; jam uxorem "comitis in dedecus et opprobrium ejus rapuerunt, "unde affectum quem erga eum gerunt jam liquido "protulerunt. Petit ergo comes quatinus malefactores "illos a familiaritate vestra velitis expellere, et tunc "veniet ad vos ubicunque volueritis assignare. Petit

The earl of Lancaster does not attend.

His plea in excuse.

His wife has been carried off.

[1] *suæ*] sine, MS.

[2] *contingeret*] contigeret, MS.

[3] *veniente*] inveniente, MS.

[4] A council was held at Clarendon Feb. 9; and another at London on April 15; see Parl. Writs, II. i. 170. The king marched northwards in July.

"etiam quod possit sine offensione vestra de injuria "sibi illata vindictam sumere et satisfactionem qua- "lem poterit impetrare."

A.D. 1317. He demands redress.

Respondit rex: "Ego contemptum comitis vindicabo "cum potero; familiares meos expellere nolo; de raptu "uxoris suæ remedium jure quærat tantummodo." Convocatis itaque familiaribus suis et ceteris amicis, ait rex coram omnibus; "Ecce videtis quomodo comes "Lancastriæ ad parliamentum non venit. Videtis quo- "modo mandatis nostris parere contempserit. Quid "vobis videtur?" Dicunt quidam: "Dignum est ut "qui præceptis domini sui parere contempnit contu- "maciam luat, et feodum si quod tenet, tanquam per- "jurus consequenter amittat. Persequatur ergo rex "contemptorem suum et comprehendat, et compre- "hensum sub carcere cludat vel regno proscribat." Alii vero dixerunt: "Non est leve capere comitem "Lancastriæ; Scoti succurrent ei et magna pars "Walliæ; sed melius est aliam viam assumere, et "prius tractare de forma concordiæ. Satis enim liquet "ex Britonum historia quam sit plena periculis civilis "discordia. Nam quod Julius Cæsar regnum Bri- "tanniæ sibi subjugavit, et quod gens Saxonum "fugatis Britonibus regnum occupavit, quod Nor- "manni regimen Angliæ consequenter, ex simili dis- "cordia cuncta pervenisse noscuntur.

The king replies.

He consults his advisers.

Conflicting counsels.

Intervenientibus ergo magnatibus, concessum est ut dominus rex et comes convenirent[1] ad quendam locum sicut fieri decet ad diem amoris sine strepitu armorum. Sperabatur enim quod, si inter se rationes suas et verba conferrent,[2] citius efficerentur unanimes, quam per mediatores mandata partium sæpe pervertentes. Sed quia secreta divitum occultari non possunt, statim nuntiatum est comiti regem jurasse quod, si comes vix-

A conference proposed.

[1] *convenirent*] convenerunt, MS. | [2] *conferrent*] confereut, MS.

A.D. 1317. dum[1] conventum accederet, aut capite privaret eum aut carceri manciparet.

The earl collects forces at Pomfret; the king at York.

Ab illa die in antea cogitavit comes regem non adire sine tutela. Congregavit sibi comes omnes sibi adhærentes apud Pountefreyt castrum suum, et erat rex eo tempore apud Eboracum, ubi mandaverat exercitum suum convenire; sed qui properabant ad regem non permittuntur cum armis transire. Observabat enim comes pontes, et diligenter fecit inhiberi dextrarios transduci vel arma transferri; et hoc asserebat se facere eo quod senescallus sit Angliæ, cujus interest utilitatibus regni prospicere, et, si rex contra aliquem arma vellet assumere, senescallo præcipue deberet innotescere. Cernens autem rex suum impediri propositum, et consilium ejus pro parte denudatum, quid faceret vel quo se verteret penitus ignoravit. Denique procurante comite de Penbrok, interponentibus se etiam cardinalibus legatis qui jam venerant in Angliam, sic actum est, ut in quindena Sancti Hillarii apud Lyncolniam convenirent[2] universi, et tunc repararentur omnia indirecta, et de malefactoribus fieret justitia.

September. Agreement for a parliament at Lincoln, Jan. 27, 1318.

October. The king marches by Pomfret in arms.

Hiis itaque dispositis dominus rex cum tota comitiva sua versus Londonias aggreditur, et, cum venisset prope castrum de Pountfreit pertinens ad comitem Lancastriæ, jussit omnes suos arma resumere, quia forsan timuit sibi ubi non erat timendum, aut certe ab insipientibus processit consilium. Armati vero et per turmas distincti processerunt quasi villam expungnaturi; et ecce, comes Penbrok regem alloquitur: "Domine," inquit comes, "quale consilium accepisti? "quid est quod ita præcipitanter arma sumpsisti? "Adversarius non instat, nec aliquis nos expungnat.

Alarm of the earl of Pembroke.

[1] *vixdum*] vixmodum, MS.

[2] *convenirent*] This was agreed Sept. 24. Parl. Writs, II. i. 171. A parliament was summoned to meet at Lincoln, Jan. 27, 1318, but was postponed on the 4th of January to March 12, and then, on March 3, to June 19, the morrow of the Holy Trinity. See below, p. 233; Parl. Writs, II. i. 182.

"Nonne omnia ad certum tempus sunt suspensa, pacta "inita, fide pariter et scriptis confirmata? Turpe est "contra pacta venire, credentem fallere et fidem in-"fringere." Et rex ad comitem; "Relatum est michi "quod comes Lancastriæ in insidiis latitat, et nos om-"nes inprovisos invadere studiose procurat." "Certe," inquit comes, "domine, non est ita. Regnum et feodum, "et universa quæ possidet, comes ipse relinqueret "priusquam hujusmodi proditionem inchoaret." Sic tandem ad suggestionem comitis rex ab inceptis destitit, et versus Londonias iter arripuit.

A.D. 1317. October. His advice to the king.

The king proceeds to London.

Rebus sic se habentibus,[1] reversi sunt etiam cardinales Londonias. Processerant enim versus Scotiam ut[2] ibidem legationem suum fungerentur; sed per terram Northamhimbrorum iter facientes a quibusdam prædonibus[3] male tractabantur. Nam Gilbertum quendam de Middeltone dictum cum suis complicibus obviam habuerunt,[4] qui sarcinulas eorum scrutantes maximam summam pecuniæ legatis abstulerunt. Suspendebant ergo legati partes legationis suæ ad tempus, donec in parliamento optinerent fieri ultionem de malefactoribus illis; procedentes nihilominus spiritualiter contra dictos prædones, Gilbertum de Middeltone cum suis fautoribus solempniter et publice a communione fidelium separantes. Ut[5] expressa pœna inmanitas excessus appareat, tenorem quem ex constitutione Bonefacii VIII^vi pro parte recolui lector advertat. Bonefacius VIII^us in titulo "de pœnis" sic statuit:—[6]

Arrival of the cardinals, who had been plundered on their way to Scotland.

Excommunication of the robbers.

"Si quis in hoc sacrilegii genus irrepserit quod ecclesiæ "Romanæ cardinalem hostiliter insecutus fuerit, percusserit "aut ceperit, fieri mandaverit vel factum ratum habuerit, con-"silium facienti dederit vel favorem, aut scienter receptaverit "vel defensaverit eundem, tanquam reus læsæ majestatis per-

Law of Boniface VIII.

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[1] *se habentibus*] de habentibus, MS.

[2] *ut*] et, MS.

[3] *prædonibus*] prædonis, MS.

[4] *habuerunt*] habuit, MS.

[5] *Ut*] et, MS.

[6] Sext. Decret. lib. 5, tit. 9, c. 5: the extract is somewhat abridged.

A.D. 1317. Decree of Boniface VIII. on the robbers of cardinals.

"petuo sit infamis, bannitus et intestabilis,[1] et ab omni "successione repulsus; omnia ædificia ejus diruantur, et ut "perpetuam notam infamiæ perpetua ruina testetur, et nullo "tempore reparentur. Nullus ei debita cogatur reddere, nullus "in judicio sibi teneatur respondere, sed quicquid in bonis "ipsius invenitur fisco vel rei publicæ dominio applicetur, "nulla parte bonorum ad posteros ejus transmissa, ut sic "quodammodo cum ipso dampnentur et sua, et si quid ab "ecclesia forsan optineant ipso jure beneficium perdant, de quo "superior ecclesiæ pro sua voluntate disponat. Insuper filii "ejus et nepotes per masculinam lineam descendentes, si "beneficium aliquod vel etiam pontificalem dignitatem fuerint "adepti, sint eis ipso jure privati; sit talibus omnis præclusa "dignitas, sit postulandi negata facultas, officium et quod-"libet ministerium publicum utrobique sic sit eis interdictum. "Non credatur in judiciis eorum assertioni; ad testimonium "prorsus reddantur indigni.[2] Sit eis ad ordines ascensus "inhibitus; sit ad beneficium ecclesiasticum negatus accessus; "et, ut magis famosa sit eorum infamia, super omnibus præ-"missis sit eis spes dispensationis penitus adempta, et tam "insecutor quam violentæ manus injector, ipso facto senten-"tiam excommunicationis majoris incurrat, quam non nisi "per summum pontificem, nisi duntaxat in mortis articulo "constitutus, evadat." Et hæc quidem sententia in prædictum Gilbertum et suos fautores tam terribiliter erat promulgata.

Flagrant character of the offence.

Revera nimis erat audax versutia et versuta nimis audacia quæ tantis viris non pepercit. Cui capiti cujusque personæ reverentia debetur, si patribus conscriptis, si[3] legatis a latere papæ transmissis, non defertur? Ceterum quantumcunque placuerit vir in virum, solet ecclesia Romana humiliter petenti veniam præstare; sed si manus sacrilega curiam ipsam invaserit, qua fronte, quæso, poterit veniam postulare, cum jure caveatur quod frustra legis auxilium invocat qui committit in legem?[4] Denique cujus efficaciæ fuerit sententia statim apparuit; nam paucis evolutis diebus

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[1] *intestabilis*] indetestabilis, MS.
[2] *indigni*] indignum, MS.
[3] *si*] se, MS.
[4] Digest. lib. 4. tit. iv. l. 37.

Gilbertus capitur et coram justitiariis regis Londoniis condempnatur. Deinde protractus, suspensus et exenteratus, capite truncatur. A.D. 1317. Arrest of the robber.

Quia in festo Sancti Hillarii dominum regem et ceteros magnates ad parliamentum convenire oportuit, ex condicto convenerunt hii qui erant de consilio domini regis, dicentes: "Non est bonum inire parlia- "mentum sub hoc modo. Nam si dominus rex veniat "et comes Lancastriæ veniat, utique et omnes qui "sunt de eorum retentione, et certe tanta et tam "effrænata[1] multitudo mali potius quam boni foret "occasio. Iccirco melius est per medias personas "inter dominum regem et comitem Lancastriæ, firmam "concordiam et plenam securitatem prius reformare, "ac deinde diem et locum parliamenti sicut decet as- "signare." A.D. 1318. January. Parliament postponed. Et actum est. Nam de consensu convenerunt apud Leicestriam archiepiscopi, comites et barones ex parte domini regis, et consiliarii comitis, tractaturi super istis negotiis. March. Council at Leicester. Ubi cum multa ex parte regis peterentur quibus et comes ipse, si placeret ei, præstaret assensum, ad nichilum penitus inclinari potuit sine plenaria observatione ordinationum. The earl insists on the ordinances.

Videntes igitur archiepiscopus et ceteri comites animum comitis inmobilem, concesserunt pro domino rege et pro se ordinationes universas fideliter observari, et cartam testimonii sacramento singulorum et sigillorum impressione roborari. The king's counsellors advise him to confirm them. Et comes Lancastriæ e contra domino regi et suis debitam fidelitatem et securitatem sub fide promisit, excepta querela quam contra comitem Warenniæ de raptu uxoris dudum instituit. The earl's engagement.

Hiis igitur sub tali forma excessis, acceperunt diem parliamenti apud Lyncolniam in crastino Trinitatis. Parliament to meet June 19. O[2] quantum nocuit ista dissensio, O quantum exsti-

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[1] *effrenata*] effranata, MS.

[2] *O*] E, MS. Parl. Writs, II. i. 178: it was countermanded early in June; ibid. 181.

A.D. 1318. March. Unhappy and inglorious state of affairs.

tit malis occasio! Dum rex delirat cum baronibus, fiducia[1] rebellandi datur hostibus. Sic[2] jam amittitur tota Scotia, et terra Northamhimbrorum jacet inculta. Una villa regi remanserat in Scotia. Hæc erat Berewyke fortis et valida et muro inexpungnabili decenter ambita. Hanc dum rex committeret burgensium custodiæ, villam tradunt hostibus famuli perfidiæ. Revera nec locus tutissimus nec vir potentissimus resistit proditoribus; sed Troja obsessa[3] decennio, quæ vinci non potuit in prælio, proditorum tandem subcubuit ingenio. Sic ille magnus Græcorum imperator Alexander, totius orbis domitor, cum cunctas nationes armis subicit, per familiares proditores toxicatus occubuit. Studeat amodo rex noster vel Scotiam recuperare, vel saltem terram propriam ab hostibus defendere. Nam licet Scotis fortuna semel arriserit, manum forsan retrahens ad Anglos convolabit. Proditio, perjurium et homicidium, quæ Roberto de Brutz regnandi dederunt initium, perducent eum tandem ad finem desolatum.

Loss of Berwick.

June. The king at Northampton.

Appropinquante die parliamenti præfixo venit rex apud Northamtoniam cum electa multitudine armatorum; ubi dum vellet omnimodo expectare magnates, apparuit quidam Oxoniæ qui diceret se filium regis esse et regnum Angliæ jure sanguinis ad se pertinere. Dicebat enim se in cunis fuisse sublatum et regem qui nunc regnat pro ipso suppositum. Accessit autem ad aulam regiam, ubi fratres Carmelitani[4] cœperunt ædificare, volens ibidem seisinam capere. Pervenit itaque verbum ad regem, et statim jussu regis capitur, et in crastino domino regi præsentatur. Verumptamen coram rege constitutus priora dicta sua non negavit, sed se verum regni heredem, regem autem injuste regnare, constanter affirmavit.

A pretender to the crown at Oxford.

He is brought before the king.

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[1] *fiducia*] fudicia, MS.
[2] *Sic*] Sit, MS.
[3] *obessa*] obcessa, MS.
[4] *Carmelitani*] Carmelini, MS.

Hujus rei celebris erat fama per totam terram, et ultra quam dici potest molestabat reginam. Cœpit igitur inter sapientes esse consultum quid in hoc casu foret agendum, ac post magnam disceptationem consideratum est inter eosdem quod qui famæ principis et honori non parcit tanquam proditor[1] capitali pœna[2] dampnetur, sicut scriptum est, "Qui maledixit principi morte morietur." Itaque fatuus ille ex decreto curiæ protrahitur, ac post illam proditorum pœnam laqueo suffocatur. Revera male vendicavit, et actionem non recte instituit, dum vitam et regnum simul amisit.

A.D. 1318. July. Punishment of the pretender.

Exod. xxi. 17; xxii. 28.

Igitur sicut prædixi dominus rex apud Northamtoniam exspectabat; magnates autem erant cum eo comes de Warennia, Rogerus Dammori, Hugo Despenser pater et filius, Hugo Daudeleghe, Willelmus de Mountagu; et hii omnes cum magna sequela, ita ut reputares eos non ad parliamentum venisse, sed potius ad bella. Quod cum audisset comes Lancastriæ, licet pluries vocatus noluit accedere. Nam hos omnes prænominatos reputabat comes sibi capitales inimicos. Causas autem inimicitiæ breviter, si placet, licet exponere.

The king's party in arms.

Lancaster refuses to attend the parliament.

Comes de Warennia comitis Lancastriæ rapuit uxorem, vel saltem rapientibus præstabat assensum, de quo nimirum si unus vindictam vellet expetere, et alter si posset pœnam evadere. Oderant etiam comitem reliqui omnes eo quod tueri volebat ordinationes. Illi namque juxta ordinationes a curia regis erant amovendi, et terras quas a domino rege acceperant similiter amissuri. Ideo insidiabantur[3] comiti in quantum potuerunt; sed insidiæ eorum effectum non habuerunt; statim enim notificatur comiti quicquid contra eum machinantur inimici.

Causes of his misgivings.

Videns igitur rex quod proficeret nichil,[4] nichil ageret in omnibus quæ contra comitem excogitaret, pensans

The king yields.

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[1] *proditor*] proditori, MS.
[2] *pœna*] pœnam, MS.
[3] *insidiabantur*] insidiebantur, MS.
[4] *nichil*] om. MS.

A.D. 1318. July. Considerations which moved the king to give way.

etiam sibi periculosam esse hujusmodi dissensionem, eo quod Scotorum contra se firmaret rebellionem, nec posse eum contra Scotos proficere sine auxilio comitis Lancastriæ; pensans etiam villam de Berewyk turpiter amissam et villam de Northam noviter amittendam nisi succurratur obsessis, qui resistere non possunt ultra festum Sancti Michaelis; pensans et expensas quas faciebat contra comitem, requirere quatinus, omni rancore deposito, ad locum quem vellet accederet, ubi cum eo super omnibus commissis pro[1] se et suis amicabiliter componeret; sed et omnes hii, contra quos diceret se comes habere querelam, ad arbitrium comitis satisfacerent, et super hoc fidejussores, cautionem aut pignora, præstarent; et ita ad instantiam dominæ reginæ, comitis Herfordiæ, et aliorum nobilium quos comes Lancastriæ reputabat fideles, optentum est.

August. Pacification.

Convenerunt igitur dominus rex et comes, et diu familiariter alloquentes debitam amicitiam et mutuam gratiam renovarunt, atque in signum fœderis eadem die cibum simul acceperunt; sed et Rogerus Dammori et ceteri, exceptis Hugone Despenser et comite de Warenna, ad comitis præsentiam humiliter accedentes, in gratiam ejus admissi sunt.[2] Præterea quia in ordinationibus cautum erat quod dominus rex nichil alienaret, nichil grande vel arduum inchoaret nisi per assensum comitum et baronum et hoc in communi parliamento solempniter expressum, provisum est quod eligerentur duodecim viri de discretioribus totius regni, quorum quatuor episcopi, quatuor comites, et quatuor barones essent, et de hiis tres ad minus dominum regem semper comitantes,[3] si aliquid arduum in curia regis emergeret, auctoritas istorum duodecim statim expediret. Nam difficile foret, pro singulis negotiis quæ solent in

A permanent council of twelve instituted.

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[1] *pro*] per, MS.

[2] The terms of peace were agreed to on Aug. 9. Fœdera, ii. 370; Parl. Writs, II. i. 184, 185; ii. 123.

[3] *comitantes*] Hearne reads communicantes.

curia regis accidere omnes magnates totius regni congregare. A.D. 1318. August.

Nabugodonosor ille potentissimus rex Assiriorum ante annum regni sui xii^{um} nichil egisse legitur memorandum, quod anno vero regni sui xii^{o} cœpit florere et gentes et regna sibi subicere. Arphaxat regem Medorum in bello devicit, et de multis regnis unam monarchiam potenter effecit. Nec etiam rex noster Edwardus, qui xi. annis regnavit et amplius, aliquid egit quod prædicari debeat in foro vel in tectis. Utinam ad exemplum regis Nabugodonosor hostes suos nunc saltem niteretur invadere, ut dampna et obprobria quæ diu sustinuit posset resarcire. Spes magna hiis diebus nobis accrevit eo quod Deus in multis prosperis regem et populum exhillaravit. In primis regi et populo Anglorum feliciter contigit quod dominus papa, cujus est dissensiones sedare, Scotis et eorum ducibus treugas biennales indixit, ut interim viam concordiæ et formam pacis excogitaret. Sed Robertus de Brutz spretis[1] mandatis apostolicis regem Angliæ multipliciter infestavit. Visum est itaque domino papæ transgressoribus pœnam infligere, et post monita censuram adicere. Igitur Robertum de Brutz et suos sequaces anathematizavit, et terram Scotorum interdicto supposuit, ita ut nullus nisi januis clausis, interdictis et excommunicatis exclusis, divina celebraret. Cujus efficaciæ fuerat interdictum dignatus est Deus ostendere ad oculum. Nam dum quadam die Robertus de Brutz peteret sibi Missam celebrari, capellanus prætextu interdicti nitebatur excusari; sed jussum[2] tiranni prævaluit, et capellanus, nimio[3] timore coactus, ad altare divina celebraturus accessit. Cum autem sacerdos Missam usque ad elevationem Corporis Domini rite peregisset, sacerdos, sicut mos est, Hostiam nitebatur erigere, et columba desuper veniens manifeste cunctis

Nebuchadnezzar's prosperity began in his twelfth year.

May king Edward's do the same.

A sign of improvement.

The pope's measures against the Scots.

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[1] *spretis*] spectis, MS.
[2] *jussum*] jussu, MS.
[3] *nimio*] non uno, Hearne.

A.D. 1318. A miracle and portent. apparuit et Hostiam de manu sacerdotis ereptam cunctis videntibus asportavit. Quid aliud prætendere potest hujuscemodi visio, nisi quod præsentes ibidem indigni erant sacramento? Et hoc quidem acceptabile nobis et gratum, dum scimus hostem nostrum a Deo reprobatum eo quod non servavit interdictum.

A second good omen in Ireland; the fall of Edward Bruce. Secundo dedit nobis Deus victoriam super inimicos nostros in Hibernia. Edwardus de Brutz et sui milites, qui jam per biennium dominium ibidem usurparunt, venientes versus Dondalk ut villam caperent, exercitum nostrum obviam habuerunt; sed inito conflictu cecidit Edwardus[1] et quingenti cum eo valentes armati ipsa die coram nostris.

A third: the cessation of the dearth. [Tertio, cessavit] sterilitas illa quæ diu nos afflixit, et habundantia omnium bonorum terram Anglorum multipliciter fœcundavit. Modius tritici, qui anno præterito pro xl. denariis vendebatur, hodie pro sex denariis emptori libenter offertur. Sic olim tamdiu obsessa Samaria, ut mater filii carnibus vesceretur pro penuria victualium, recuperavit divina gratia. Nam caput asini, 2 Kings, vi. 25; vii. 16. quod octoginta aureis pridie vendebatur, omnibus inmundum in crastino reputatum erat, et modius similæ pro statere uno venundatus, sicut prædixerat vir Dei Helisæus.

A fourth; the peace, and dismissal of bad counsellors. Quarto, factus est unanimis rex noster cum baronibus suis. Nam nugis postpositis[2] consilia baronum auscultat,[3] nec est qui regem ad malum instigat amplius, quia privata familia quæ baronibus erat contraria hodie recessit ab aula. Hiis igitur omnibus per gratiam Dei concurrentibus, non est timendum nobis ab inimicis nostris, sicut scriptum est ad Romanos, "si Deus "nobiscum quis contra nos?" Rom. viii. 31

Habita concordia inter dominum regem et comitem Lancastriæ, bonum visum est magnatibus concordiam

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[1] *Edwardus*] Edwardum, MS.

[2] *postpositis*] præpositis, MS.

[3] *auscultat*] ascultat, MS.

A.D. 1318. December. Commissions for hearing complaints against the king's servants.

et unitatem in populo facere, injurias ulcisci et regnum innovare. Tunc assignati sunt et destinati ad quemlibet comitatum viri discreti et bonæ opinionis, ad audiendum et terminandum querelas subditorum. Ministrales enim regii auctoritate publicæ potestatis concutiebant simplices, spoliarunt innocentes, ut[1] nemo negotium suum consummaret, nisi hujusmodi officialium manum impleret. Amoti sunt omnes tales ab officio ut liberius procederet inquisitio. Insuper ordinatum est ut convicti læsis in duplo satisfacerent, et ad officium nunquam redirent.

Abuses that required reform.

Hæc ordinatio terruit multos, et ad satisfaciendum induxit nondum convictos. Revera de officialibus domini regis veraciter hoc possumus dicere, quia a minimo usque ad maximum omnes student avaritiæ, a summo justitiario usque ad minimum pedaneum judicem, nullus recusat accipere. Porro, licet aliqui non exigant vel extorqueant offerendum, nullus tamen eorum respuit oblatum. Verumtamen quod offertur ex gratia licenter recipi[2] potest, sed cum mensura; quia a nemine accipere est valde inhumanum,[3] sed passim et indifferenter turpissimum. Oporteret certe dominum regem; a majoribus sumitur enim exemplum, et a capite dirivatur omnis malitia. Sic ille regum prudentissimus rex noster Edwardus proximus Thomam de Weilonde capitalem justitiarium, propter quasdam transgressiones et oppressiones subditorum, omni honore, beneficio et dignitate privavit, et capitali pœnæ vel carceri perpetuo addictus fuisset, nisi ad ordinem Minorum citius convolasset.[4] Sed nec chorda Minorum eidem præstabat confugium, quin idem Thomas nudatus pedes et caput subiret exilium. Eodem tempore multi et magni viri inter potestates domini regis præcipui, de turpibus sceleribus convicti, cum

Prevalence of bribery.

Measures of Edward I. against corrupt judges.

The cord of the Franciscans did not protect Weyland.

[1] *ut*] et, MS.
[2] *recipi*] recepi, MS.
[3] *inhumanum*] inhumatum, MS.
[4] *convolasset*] convalescet, MS.

A.D. 1318. Punishment of a great clerk of king Edward I.

magna jactura et ignominia ab officio et dignitate repulsi sunt. Inter quos quidam clericus, inter officiales regis non minimus, de tyrannide quam exercuit ab ipsis specialibus domini regis accusatus et convictus, omni feodo laicali quod in regno possidebat est privatus. Insuper in auro et argento et varia suppellectili ad valorem xxx^ta^ milium marcarum perdidit, quæ manus regia, utpote de bonis regis collecta, sibi confiscavit. O quanta cura in hiis adunandis prius impendidit, et uno die vel uno momento valefecit! O fallax rerum copia quæ, cum possessorem suum felicem facere deberet, infelicissimum reddit, quæ nec eum, dormire nec saltem unam horam in gaudio consummare permittit. Nam sollicitudines et vigiliæ inimici sunt naturæ. Hoc est quod Ecclesiastes deplorando conqueritur; "Vide," inquit, "quod est sub sole et "quidem [1] frequens apud homines; vir cui dedit "[Deus] divitias, substantiam et honorem, et nichil "deest animæ ejus ex omnibus quæ desiderat; nec "tribuit ei Deus potestatem ut [2] ex eo comedat, sed "homo extraneus devorabat illud." Deinde addit Ecclesiastes et diffinit de talibus, dicens quod "melior "illo est abortivus. Frustra enim venit, et pergit ad "tenebras, et oblivioni dabitur nomen ejus." Eccles. vi. 1–3.

The cares of wealth.

Exchange of lands between Lancaster and Warenne.

Inter comitem Lancastriæ et comitem de Warenna facta est concordia per excambium quarundam terrarum, quas autem comes inperpetuum possidebit hereditate. Jacturam fecit ut evitaret majus [3] periculum, quia de duobus malis minus malum est eligendum. Sic comes Lancastriæ adversarios suos ad satisfactionem reduxit caute; sed Hugonem Despenser adhuc pro libito superare non potuit. Hugo semper et caute quærit subterfugia ut redimat tempus et evitet pericula. Nam secundum relatum aliquorum jam adivit

Craft of Hugh le Despenser.

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[1] *quidem*] qui Deus, MS.
[2] *ut*] om. MS.
[3] *majus*] manus, MS.

Sanctum Jacobum, quia timuit venire ad parliamentum. A.D. 1319.

Post Pascha convenerunt[1] omnes magnates terræ cum domino rege apud Eboracum, et consilio facto consenserunt unanimiter in festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ omnes apud Novum Castrum cum armis convenire, et extunc quod ad expeditionem belli pertinet, Deo dante, feliciter inchoare. Concesserunt etiam proceres domino regi in subsidium guerræ suæ xviii^um^ denarium totius Angliæ.

May. Parliament at York.

Muster to be at Newcastle on July 22.

Hiis ita dispositis[2] misit dominus rex nuntios in Scotiam qui regnum peterent, pacem offerrent, et Roberto de Brutz vitam et membra sic salva permitterent. Sic enim decet regem facere, et pace repulsa hostes impetere. Sic etiam habuerunt filii Israelis in præceptis, ut, cum civitatem aliquam expungnarent, pacem prius offerrent, qua non admissa ad pungna-
Deut. xx. 10. tionem citanter rite procederent. Sic Græci post raptum Helenæ leguntur Trojanis pacem optulisse. Sic potens ille Nabugodonosor rex Assiriorum, antequam expungnaret exteras nationes, petiit sub pace tributum. Respondit Robertus de Brutz se de pace regis Angliæ non multum curare; regnum Scotiæ suum esse et jure hereditario et jure belli ad se pertinere. Hiis titulis dicebat se munitum esse, protestans se nec debere nec velle aliquem superiorem vel dominum terrenum agnoscere.

Edward offers peace to the Scots, and claims the kingdom.

Bruce answers that he does not much care for peace.

Termino præfixo[3] convenerunt rex apud Novum Castrum comites et barones. Aderat Thomas comes Lancastriæ, comes de Penbrok, comes de Arundel et comes de Herforde, comes de Warenna et frater domini regis comes Marescalliæ. Affuit etiam Hugo Despenser, Rogerus Dammori et Hugo Daudeleye, et hii tres

July. Muster at Newcastle.

[1] The parliament sat at York from the 6th to the 25th of May 1319; Parl. Writs, II. i. 197, 210.

[2] *dispositis*] depositis, MS.

[3] July 22; Parl. Writs, II. i. 517.

A.D. 1319. July. The king attracts a force by promising spoil.

vicecomites[1] Gloucestriæ; hii tres enim tres sorores duxerant quæ, familiæ[2] judicio, comitatum[3] Gloucestriæ inter se diviserant. Aderant etiam reliqui barones Angliæ, qui domino regi certum patrocinium tenentur conferre; et multa milia peditum similiter confluxerant; et omnes voluntarie eo quod dominus rex concesserat unicuique ad summam centum librarum sine restitutione quantum posset in bonis hostium occupare. Item concessit dominus rex nautis omnibus, ut scilicet a parte maris hostes viriliter impeterent, et de spoliis hostium quantum possent sua dominia amplificarent.[4]

Volunteers induced to join.

Hæc utique concessio in deprædationem Scotorum voluntarios multos armavit, quia restitutio, quæ post concordiam frequenter fiebat, timenda non fuit.

Berwick besieged by land and by sea.

Profectus inde dominus rex in Scotiam apud Berewyk cum toto exercitu primo pervenit, et hanc primam expungnationem de consilio fore decrevit, eo quod ultro recesserat ab imperio suo, et ne se ipsos exponerent periculo dum hostes invictos dimitterent a tergo. Diffusus est igitur exercitus villam in circuitu a parte terrestri, et cœperunt contra eam munitiones et expungnacula properari. A parte vero maris nautæ qui[5] præsunt Quinque Portubus ita observabant introitus et exitus[6] ut nulli omnino pateret egressus.

September. James Douglas plans to carry off the queen from Yorkshire.

Dum hæc aguntur in Scotia, nec videretur esse timendum ab hostibus in Anglia, Jacobus Douglas cum suis complicibus, qui semper machinationibus fuit intentus, nisi Deus et Dominus omnium nobis præcavisset, magnam jacturam et dampnum inæstimabile[7] nobis intulisset. Nam juxta consilium Achitofel decem milia virorum sibi elegerat, et reginam Angliæ, 2 Sam. xvii. quæ juxta Eboracum morabatur, rapuisse decreverat.

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[1] *vicecomites*] vices comites, MS.
[2] *familiæ*] famuliæ, MS.
[3] *comitatum*] comitum, MS.
[4] *sua dominia amplificarent*] suo domino amplicarent, MS.
[5] *qui*] quæ, MS.
[6] *exitus*] exercitus, MS.
[7] *inæstimabile*] inæstimabilem, MS.

Certe si capta fuisset tunc regina credo quod pacem emisset sibi Scotia. Sed dissipatum est consilium proditoris Achitofel, nec passus est tantum discrimen nobis inferri Deus Israel. Nam quadam die captus est quidam explorator apud Eboracum; et, cum vidisset se quæstionibus addictum, promisit, si daretur ei pœnam evadere, totam machinationem Scotorum revelare; et placuit pactum majoribus civitatis; erant enim ibidem archiepiscopus Eboracensis et regis cancellarius episcopus tunc Eliensis. Explorator ille indicavit quod inimicus noster Jacobus Douglas clam venturus esset cum electa manu ad partes illas, ut videlicet reginam abduceret et quos reperiret inprovisos simul occiderent.[1] "Tali," inquit, "die et tali "loco latitabant, et, cum tempus acceperint ydoneum, "propositum consummabunt." Vix erat qui dictis adhiberet credentiam, eo quod dominus Angliæ terras Scotorum vastare[2] jam inciperet, et magis videbatur necessarium talem exercitum proprios fines defendere quam extra propria loca per centum miliaria pungnam appetere. Addidit autem explorator ille quod[3] nisi eventus rei dictis suis fidem afferret, capitalem pœnam libenter acciperet.

A.D. 1319. September. His design is betrayed by a spy.

2 Sam. xvii. 14.

The spy's story discredited.

Tunc exierunt de civitate illa archiepiscopus et cancellarius, cum communi sequela sua, vicecomes et burgenses et eorum familiares, monachi et canonici et ceteri regulares, necnon et omnes alii qui ad arma ferenda inventi sunt habiles, reduxerunt reginam ad civitatem; deinde per aquam reducta est apud Notyngham. Ibi fuit tutior locus reginæ, nec Jacobus timendus nec ejus insidiæ.

The queen is sent to Nottingham.

Altera autem die qua juxta verbum exploratoris reperiendi erant Scoti in suis latibulis, exierunt iterum de civitate Eboracensi laici, clerici et religiosi.

An army of laymen and clerks.

[1] *occiderent*] occidirent, MS.
[2] *vastare*] vastaret, MS.
[3] *quod*] qui, MS.

A.D. 1319. September. Incautious proceedings of the English force.

Ibant igitur clam et sine tumultu, ut hostes inprovisos invaderent, ne et ipsi præmuniti fugam forsan arriperent. Verumptamen satis erant præmuniti, nec tamen in fugam conversi. Nam cum homines nostros inordinate venientes aspicerent, "Hii," inquiunt, "non "bellatores sed venatores; non multum proficient." Incenderunt autem Scoti fœnum multum quod erat in loco illo congestum, et ascendit fumus late dispersus in cælum. Fumus[1] impediebat visum nostrorum, unde et quos credebant in fugam conversos invenerunt paratos ad bellum. Erant quippe viri ex omni Scotia electi ad præliandum apti, ad omnem laborem apti.

Victory of the Scots.

Nostri vero plures in re militari minus instructi, ad fugandum quam ad præliandum magis intenti. Inito igitur conflictu plures ex nostris perimuntur et multi super capiuntur; sed et Scoti in Scotiam cum suis captivis indempnes revertuntur, etc.

The siege of Berwick raised.

Pervenit verbum ad regem Angliæ et ad exercitum nostrum qui morabatur in obsidione, et statim nescio quorum consilio derelicta est penitus obsidio. Rex enim nitebatur obviare Scotis fugientibus per unam semitam, et comes Lancastriæ per alteram. Scoti vero felici usi[2] duplomate per alteram viam reversi sunt in regionem suam. Sed quare derelicta est obsidio tanto opere inchoata? Dicunt quidam quod Robertus de Brutz habuit amicos. Certe David non evasisset manus Saul regis si non habuisset in familiaribus amicos ejus.

Suspicions of treason.

Inputatur comiti Lancastriæ quod rex recessit de obsidione; inputatur etiam eidem quod Scoti venerunt rapere reginam, et quod inimici regis illæsi in patriam suam sunt reversi. Argumenta quædam proditionis publice proclamantur,[3] unde comes et sui sequaces enormiter diffamantur. Vulgariter enim dicitur quod comes ille recepit a Roberto de Brutz

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1 *Fumus*] fug', MS.
2 *usi*] visu, MS.
3 *proclamantur*] proclamatur, MS.

xl. milia librarum ut sibi et suis occulte ferret auxilium, et quod in obsidione, dum omnes expungnarent murum, nullus ex privatis comitis fecit insultum, et villa de Berewyk dedita fuisset si cautela comitis nusquam repungnasset, et Jacobus Douglas revertens in Scotiam per exercitum comitis transibat. Comes autem inhermis per medium Scotorum ibat. A.D. 1319. September. Story that Lancaster was bribed.

O comes Lancastriæ, cujus sunt tantæ divitiæ, cur pro tanta summa pecuniæ perdidisti famam et nomen constantiæ? Utinam non fuisset illa pecunia pro qua fama tua periit et crevit infamia![1] Magna est jactura in famæ periculo, in cujus dispendio nulla est æstimatio, quia cum[2] semel læsionem patitur vix vel nunquam recuperatur. Certe, si totum thesaurum tuum in munera disperges, famam tuam pristinam nunquam revocares. O quantæ laudis[3] habebas præcones dum jugiter defenderes ordinationes! Favor populi in odium convertitur, et fama tua in infamiam commutatur. Sic licet Joab multa fortiter gessit, proditio in Abner et Amasam omnem laudem ejus denigravit. Apostrophe to the earl of Lancaster.

O generose comes, cur non ad mentem revocas genus electum, regalem prosapiam tuam quam infamas! Cur non advertis, comes egregie, quantum sit crimen scelus perfidiæ! Nam si facta eorum[4] diversimode puniuntur, proditores tamen juste[5] maxima pœna plectuntur. Proprium enim proditorum est pessimum finem capere, et quis unquam talem transivit impune? Filotas quondam pungnator strenuus sub magno Alexandro, miles egregius, quia delationem proditoris triduo suppressit, ex decreto curiæ sententiam proditoris accepit. Æneas et ceteri Trojani,[6] qui urbem suam inclitam prodiderunt, post mortem Priami Historic warnings against treason. 1 S. Pet. ii. 9. Case of Philotas. Case of Æneas.

[1] *infamia*] infamiam, MS.
[2] *cum*] tunc, MS.
[3] *Quantæ laudis*] Quantæ laudes, MS.; Quantos laudis, Hearne.
[4] *eorum*] Hearne suggests "malorum."
[5] *juste*] injuste, MS.
[6] *Trojani*] Trojam, MS.

A.D. 1319. September. Fatal examples of treason.

exules defecti Trojam reliquerunt. Veniamus ad exempla domestica. Thomas Torborvile, qui regem Angliæ prodidit in Francia, novam pœnam suam pertulit postmodum in Anglia. Comes de Arselles, Symon Frysel, Willelmus Waleys, non quia Scoti fuerunt sed quia proditores, sententiam proditorum acceperunt. Quid itaque facies comes Lancastriæ? Si viam nefariam proponas incedere totus mundus insurget contra te nec pœnam debitam poteris evadere. Igitur vel labia dolosa de falso convincas vel mala opera tua in meliora cito convertas.

The vices most unbecoming to the rich.

Inter cetera vitia duo sunt divitibus valde inconvenientia, cupiditas et fallacia cupiditatis socia. Ut quid enim cupit qui satis habundat, ut quid fallit qui alieno non eget? Revera pauperes et tenues, qui[1] quæ necessaria sunt non habent, hujusmodi vitio laborare solent. Nam et in judiciis testimonium eorum solet reprobari, eo quod præsumitur tales facilius posse corrumpi. Sed nunc cupiditas ascensiones suas ita disposuit ut præ ceteris vitiis veraciter dicere possit "ego in sublimibus habito, et tronus meus in divi-"tum consortio."[2]

Evil results of avarice.

Sic igitur concurrunt et stant pariter simul in unum dives et pauper, nisi quod de paupere frequenter fit judicium, sed contra injuriam divitis non est remedium. Heu multa mala inducit cupiditas, perjurium, homicidium, et machinationes innumeras. Hæc animam hominis venalem facit et de periculo animæ nichil curat, dum tamen id quod concupiscit adquirit.

Sad prevalence of these evils.

Maledicta cupiditas, et ejus commercium, per quam caritas abiit et fides in exilium. Ecce comites et ceteri magnates terræ, qui de patrimonio suo satis possent decenter vivere, jam totum tempus suum computant pro nichilo, nisi patrimonium augeant in duplo

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[1] *qui*] om. MS.

[2] The words are a parody on Ecclesiasticus, xxiv. 7. The whole of these long speculations are intended to have rhythmical cadence and rhymed endings.

vel in triplo; unde vicinos pauperes ad venditionem paternarum rerum studiose sollicitant, et quos sic inducere non possunt multipliciter infestant, donec angustiati pro modico forsan offerant quod pro magno prius vendidisse potuerant. Et, quia res concordat materiæ, factum quoddam libet[1] apponere.

A.D. 1319. The rich buy up the poor.

Erat quidam miles vir simplex et multæ innocentiæ sicut ex quodam ejus actu consueto potest apparere. Nam cum servos suos ex decreto ballivi contingeret quandoque pro transgressione facta puniri, solebat miles ille apud ballivum pro servis intercedere, et pœnam inflictam frequenter remittere. Dicebat se ex rapinis et spoliis nolle vivere; magnum erat opus hoc misericordiæ. Reliquit post se filios bene valentes quorum conversatio placens erat apud Dominum et homines. Venit autem magnus quidam et potens filius diaboli, minister Sathanæ, et pueros expulit a paterna hereditate. Illi vero non audentes querelam instituere, coacti sunt pro jure suo modicum accipere.

A story in point.

Sed cum providentia Dei regatur mundus, ut creditur, cur subcumbit innocens et floret impius, cur non est sumpta vindicta de nocentibus? Sane hæc vetus querela magnos et sanctos[2] afflixit, sed et regis David animum quandoque concussit. Cum enim rex ille propheta pressuras justorum cerneret, et iniquos ad omnes vitæ hujus illecebras licentius evagari conspiceret, quærebat si utique esset fructus justorum, et esset Deus judicans iniquos in terra. "Mei," inquit, "pene moti sunt pedes, pene effusi sunt gressus mei, "quia zelavi super iniquos, pacem peccatorum videns. "In labore hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non "flagellantur. Ideo tenuit eos superbia; ecce ipsi "peccatores habundantes in sæculo optinuerunt divi"tias. Et dixi, ergo sine causa justificavi cor meum "et lavi inter innocentes manus meas, et fui flagel-

Of the moral government of the world.

Ps. lxxiii. 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14.

[1] *quoddam libet*] Hearne read his MS. "quod ubilibet."

[2] *sanctos*] querelam, ins. MS.

A.D. 1319. How the prosperity of the wicked is to be explained.

"latus tota die." Tandem ad occulta Dei judicia descendens nodum quæstionis enucleat dicens; "ve- Ps. lxxiii. 18. 19.
"rumptamen propter dolos posuisti eis, dejecisti eos "dum allevarentur. Quomodo facti sunt in desolatio- "nem, subito defecerunt, perierunt propter iniquitatem "suam." Manifeste igitur insinuat, qualiter divitiæ fallaces et proditoriæ amatores suos decipiunt, et quos dolose erigunt cum dolore prosternunt. Beatus igitur Job in dolore et afflictione positus eandem querelam movet, et postea divinæ dispensationis justitiam assignat: "Quare impii vivunt, sublevati sunt et confor- Job. xxi. 7-9.
"tati divitiis? Semen eorum permanet coram eis, "domus eorum securæ sunt et pacatæ,[1] et non est virga "Dei super eos;" et cetera prosequitur in hunc modum. Nunc divinæ dispensationis judicium: "Ducunt in Job. xxi. 13.
"bonis dies suos, et in puncto ad inferna descendunt." Ecce quomodo exaltati sunt sicut cedrus Libani, et dejecit eos consilium Altissimi. Divitiæ datæ sunt eis in laqueum, deliciæ et voluptates in capturam. Super hac re similiter disputat Jeremias; "Quare," Jere. xii. 1, 2.
inquit, "via impiorum prosperatur, bene est omnibus "qui male agunt et prævaricantur? Plantasti eos, "radices miserunt, proficiunt et faciunt fructum." Et tandem suam mittit sententiam: "Congregabuntur," Jere. xii. 3.
inquit, "in die occisionis quasi greges ad victimam." Quidam etiam poeta, dum de prosperitate impiorum conqueritur simile judicium prosequitur. Ait enim, "Tolluntur in altum, ut lapsu graviore ruant." Ecce Claudian, *in Ruf.* i. 22.
David et Job, Jeremias et poeta, eandem[2] instituunt querelam, quorum similia sunt judicia et in unum consona dicta. Certe quia "non profertur cito contra Eccles. viii. 11.
"malos sententia, absque ullo timore filii hominum per- "petrant[3] mala." Nunc autem duæ semitæ nobis exponuntur, una vitæ, altera interitus, et utriusque noti-

[1] *pacatæ*] paratæ, MS.
[2] *eandem*] eadem, MS.
[3] *perpetrant*] impetrant, MS.

tiam habemus. Qui ergo salutis suæ tam prodigus exstiterit ut relicta semita vitæ viam interitus maluerit incidere, sibi imputare debet qui potuit eligere. A.D. 1319.

The earl of Lancaster offers to purge himself by ordeal.

Audiens autem comes Lancastriæ sic nomen suum diffamatum in populo, et quod publica vox et fama testimonium perhiberet de malo, accessit ad regem et dixit, "Scitis, domine, quod fueram cum omni retentione mea vobiscum in Scotia, et quod non modicos sumptus ibidem fecerim pro villa de Berewyk recuperanda. Sed nunc imputatur per totum regnum quod res non successit nobis ad votum. Ego autem ora hominum obturare non possum, verumptamen ad arbitrium boni viri, et, si necesse fuerit, in ferro candenti[1] offero me purgaturum, vel, si appareat[2] accusator et velit se inscribere, offero[3] me legitime innocentiam meam ostendere." Et videbatur oblatio comitis justa, eo quod sola fama laborabat, nec erat transgressio manifesta. Admissa est igitur purgatio comitis cum quadam[4] manu parium. Sic spina in lilium, rubigo in ferrum, et scoria redit[5] in aurum, et cetera.

The king of France demands homage of Edward, who makes a truce with the Scots.

Post hæc exegit novus rex Franciæ a rege Angliæ homagium pro terra Vasconiæ; et, quia hujusmodi servitium non nisi personaliter præstari potuit, rex de consilio suo treugas biennales cum Scotis iniit, et sic in brevi transfretare disposuit. Displicuerunt treugæ quibuscunque proceribus eo quod status domini regis videretur in hoc valde minoratus. Sane probabiliter sentirent si onus quod regi incumbit caute declinarent. Sed nec lex nec ratio turpiter fieri præsumit quod necessitas inevitabilis introducit. Legitur quod in obsidionem Trojanam omnes fere mundi principes convenerant; isti quidem exterioribus, illi vero ad

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[1] *in ferro candenti*] in fero candenti, MS.

[2] *appareat*] apperiat, MS.

[3] *offero*] offerro, MS.

[4] *quadam*] Hearne's reading for the *qua* of his MS., possibly it is *quarta* or *quinta*.

[5] *redit*] reddit, MS.

A.D. 1319. The king's policy in granting the truce.

auxilium præstandum obsessis. Sed nec hii nec isti erubescebant inducias petere cum oporteret morticina comburere. Porro non iniit rex treugas tantum quia transfretaturus erat, sed ut eo pacto ab infestatione suorum gens Scotorum desisteret, quos tempore hiemali præcipue vastare consueverat. Solebat enim rex annis præteritis per totam hiemem munire Marchiam custodibus, sed magis nocebat populo oppressio custodum[1] quam persecutio inimicorum. Scoti namque pro modico tributo Northamhimbrorum incolis ad tempus parcebant, sed hii qui ad tutelam præpositi videbantur cotidianæ exactioni jugiter vacabant. Præterea non potuit rex simul transfretare et exercitum ad bellum conducere: erat enim transfretaturus post Pascha, quando solent reges præparare conductum ad bella.

A.D. 1320. January. Council of the barons called at York. The earl of Lancaster refuses to attend.

Vocavit[2] igitur dominus rex barones suos apud Eboracum ut de statu regni disponerent ante recessum suum. Comes autem Lancastriæ, sicut pluries, vocatus non venit. Non enim decebat habere parliamentum in cameris, ut dixit. Habebat namque regem et collaterales suos sibi suspectos, et ipsos non jam clam sed manifeste protestabatur inimicos suos. Sed nonne jam dudum erat omnis controversia et discordia sedata? Revera sic videbatur pluribus fuisse res gesta. Verum suspecta est pax inter magnates, ad quam non amore sed vi sublimes veniunt potestates.

The king suspected of a purpose of revenge.

Dominus rex apud Berewyke cum firmata fuisset obsidio, et videbatur res expedienda pro nichilo, hujusmodi verba protulisse fertur: "Cum iniquus[3] "transierit iste tumultus, ad alia negotia manus con-"vertemus. Nondum enim nobis excedit a memo-"ria[4] fratri meo Petro illata quondam injuria;" et hoc quidem verbum comitem non latuit: unde nimi-

[1] *custodum quam*] custodium quamque, MS.

[2] The barons were summoned to meet at York on the 20th of January 1320.

[3] *iniquus*] iniqua, MS.

[4] *a memoria*] ad memoriam, MS.

rum de re apud Berewyk segnius intromisit, vel, si dicere fas sit, ipsam expeditionem forsan impedivit. Sic[1] Achilles iratus commilitonibus Græcorum fertur nocuisse, et ab armis suis diu propter votum abstinuisse. Non vitupero[2] comitem si sibi præcaveat, nec tamen laudo si fidem infringat.

A.D. 1320. January. The earl's caution.

Igitur quinto sextove die[3] ante Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ transfretavit dominus rex in Franciam, quem Deus pro sua pietate salvo custodiat et salvo reducat in Angliam. Precesserant autem regem frater ejus Edmundus, Bartholomæus Badesmere, et quidam alii pro quibusdam negotiis domini regis ad curiam Romanam profecturi. Eo tempore vacabat in Anglia sedes episcopalis Lyncolniensis, sed canonici ante recessum regis optenta licentia unanimiter consentiebant de electione pastoris, qui quidem, magister Antonius de Bek nominatus, fuit generosus et morigeratus, et magister erat theologiæ,[4] ecclesiæ Lyncolniensi satis ydoneus, illius egregii Antonii de Bek quondam Dunelmensis episcopi et patriarchæ Jerosolimitani[5] consanguineus. Habebat dictus Bartholomæus nepotem qui pro ætate industris erat. Nondum enim xxv. annos attigerat. Procurante itaque Bartholomæo inductus est rex Angliæ supplicare domino papæ pro juvene, ut ad dictam sedem episcopalem dignaretur eum assumere. Rogabat et rex Franciæ, et Edmundus frater regis Angliæ, et laudabant juvenem omnes, personam ipsius apud dominum papam multipliciter recommendantes. Sic igitur dominus papa, tot et tantorum precibus sollicitatus, priorem electionem cassavit, et juvenem illum ecclesiæ Lyncolniensi præfecit. Mirabile quidem factum, quia contra legem et rationem[6] actum:

June. The king's visit to France.

Election of Antony Bek to the see of Lincoln.

The kings of England and France petition for Henry Burghersh.

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[1] *Sic*] Si, MS.

[2] *vitupero*] vituperio, MS.

[3] The king sailed on the 19th of June, and returned on the 22nd of July; Fœdera, ii. 428.

[4] *theologiæ*] theologus, MS.

[5] *Jerosolimitani*] Jerosolimitane, MS.

[6] *rationem*] armationem, MS.

A.D. 1320. Burghersh was too young to be a bishop.

nec visum nec prius auditum ut tam juvenis præficeretur in episcopum: contra legem, cum nemo citra xxx[ta] annos de jure cathedram pastoralem possit ascendere, contra rationem quia nemo juvenes eligit duces, eo quod non constat eos esse prudentes. Nam et Salomon incertissimum reputat inter omnia incerta viam adolescentis in juventute sua. Siquidem admiranda sæculo et ridiculosa[1] præsumptio, dum juvenis pastorali locatur in solio. Juvenem contingit ad regnum sublimari, sed bene non congruit juvenes episcopari, quia sanguis et natura attenditur in principe, sed virtus et scientia requiritur in episcopo. In gregibus et armentis aper, aries et taurus, corpore et animositate præstantior, ceterorum erit minator et ductor, sed inter rationales hic ordo non servatur. Hodie enim quanto quis minus sapit, tanto audacius melioribus ante eum[2] esse præsumit. Qui nichil didicit aliorum doctor efficitur, et quasi æs sonans aut cimbalum usurpat prædicationis officium, cum sit cuneus inutilis et ydolum mutum. Nam episcopus illiteratus præco est mutus. Apud veteres erat conditio sapientum inæstimabiliter venerabilis. Hodie vero prudentia tanquam vilis et abjecta calcatur; et quadam abhominabili mutatione stultitia in sublimi præponitur. Hoc est quod Ecclesiastes deplorando conqueritur. "Vidi," inquit, "malum quod est sub "sole, stultum in sublimi dignitate positum, et sapientes sedere deorsum." Eccles. x. 6.

Promotion of young men a modern abuse.

Important responsibility of dignity.

Sacræ Scripturæ prorsus[3] ex parte, onus importabile dignitate usurpant de aliena potius quam de sua scientia præsumentes. Erubescat doleatque prælatus præesse populo nec prodesse; docentis officium assumpsisse et in doctrina populi mutum esse. Talem

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[1] *ridiculosa*] rediculosa, MS.

[2] *ante eum*] The MS. read "ante "eum"; Hearne suggests anteeundum or anteferendum; probably the right word is *antecedere*.

[3] *prorsus*] prossus, MS. But the whole sentence is corrupt.

A.D. 1320. Reflexions on the undue promotions of prelates.

siquidem non præfert honestas sed cupiditas, non moralitas sed venalitas, non scientia sed pecunia, non meritum sed pretium, non electio sed ambitio, et, cum ad regimen plebis et ducatum populi præficiatur, timendum est ne relicta terra promissionis, in servitutem incidat et in Ægiptum revertatur. Dignitatis equidem appetitus natione cælestis est, in cælo conceptus, a cælo dejectus, quando affectabat Lucifer ille a parte aquilonis cathedram erigere, collocari in excelso et fieri similis Altissimo. Timendum est itaque miseris prælatis ne, dum cathedram erigunt ad aquilonem, id est dum indigne cathedram ascendunt pastoralem, cum Lucifero præcipitentur in gehennam.

Isa. xiv. 13, 14.

Qua fronte, quæso, præesse præsumit qui prodesse non novit? Nonne videretur insanus qui omnino navigationis ignarus in discrimine[1] tempestatis peritissimos nautas contempneret, ipse autem in suam et aliorum perniciem propter temeritatem magisterium navis usurparet? Sed nullus hodie ab onere pontificali se excusat; nullus invitus trahitur aut reclamans.[2] Ubi hodie similis Amonio[3] reperitur, qui cum ab omni populo ad pontificatus apicem peteretur, "Oculos "meos," inquit, "effodiam, linguam[4] per quam vobis "placeo nisi me dimittatis abscidam." Certe cum ad eruditionem populi mitteret Dominus Jeremiam, quem sanctificaverat ex utero, suam imperfectionem propheta formidans, "A! A! A!" inquit, "Domine, ecce "loqui nescio." Moises etiam, dum a Domino ad liberationem[5] populi in Ægiptum destinatur, inpeditionem linguæ prætendens alium mittendum humiliter imprecatur. Iccirco propter insufficientiam et cupiditatem pontificum translata est hodie archa Dei de Israel in Azotum, id est, a sanctitate in ignem con-

Historical examples.

Jere. i. 6.

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[1] *discrimine*] discrimen, MS.
[2] *reclamans*] reclamas, MS.
[3] *See* Pallad. Hist. Laus. c. 12.
[4] *linguam*] liguam, MS.
[5] *liberationem*] obliberationem, MS.

A.D. 1320. Scripture warnings.

cupiscentiæ, et de Azoto[1] transfertur in templum Dagon, id est, desolationis et tristitiæ. Nam in Mathæo scriptum est, "Cum videritis abhominationem "desolationis sedentem in templo, tunc væ prægnan-"tibus et nutrientibus," ac si diceret, cum videritis ambitiosum, illiteratum[2] et fatuum in ecclesia Dei præminere, væ illis qui talibus prælatis coguntur subjacere. Illi vero qui spem salutis conceperant, exemplo[3] talium suffocantur; qui[4] vero vitæ cælestis alimenta petebant nullo[5] verbi Domini pabulo sustentantur. "Parvuli," inquit propheta, "petierunt "panem et non erat qui frangeret eis."

S. Matt. xxiv. 15.

Lam. iv. 4.

A.D. 1321. Quarrel of the younger Despenser with the barons.

Post reversionem domini regis orta est magna discordia inter quosdam majores barones et Hugonem Despenser filium, domini regis camerarium. Hugo namque, qui primogenitam heredum Gloucestriæ duxerat uxorem, et cui fere totum Glamorgan cesserat in partem, omni studio et tota mente terras vicinas[6] dominio suo nitebatur amplificare,[7] et primo castrum de Neuport, quod Hugo de Audeleghe in partem accepit, fraudulenter[8] intravit et tenuit; et castra quædam, ex regia munificentia Rogero de Mortemer dudum collata, vehementer affectavit, et dominum regem ad repetitionem dictorum castrorum consequenter induxit.

Dispute about Newport, and Gower.

Præterea terram de Gower, ex quibusdam causis in legibus Marchiæ præjudicium exquisitis, fisco applicari censebat, pro eo quod Johannes Moubray in ipsam, cum de rege teneretur in capite, sine licentia regis ingressum fecerat; sed et dominus rex, qui votis Hugonis pro posse favebat, processum quendam in prædictum Johannem, et legi Marchiæ præjudicialem, fieri discernebat. Obstabat[9] Johannes, obstabat et comes Herfor-

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[1] *Azoto*] Azota, MS.
[2] *illiteratum*] illaratum, MS.
[3] *exemplo*] exemplum, MS.
[4] *qui*] quo, MS.
[5] *nullo*] nulle, MS.
[6] *vicinas*] vicinias, MS.
[7] *amplificare*] amplicare, MS.
[8] *fraudulenter*] fraudelenter, MS.
[9] *Obstabat*] Ostabat, MS., in both places.

diæ, commune præjudicium advertentes, domino regi ne novam legem, contra consuetudines[1] ab antiquo usitatas et approbatas, induceret humiliter supplicantes. Instabat Hugo Despenser pertinaciter dicens dominum regem tam in Wallia quam in Anglia hac semper prærogativa gaudere, ut nullus sine licentia regis ingressum[2] haberet in feodum quod de rege teneretur in capite; et, si contrarium a quocunque foret attemptatum, feodum sic occupatum redigeretur in fiscum. Allegabant alii legem marchiæ et consuetudines quas non licebat infringere. Sprevit Hugo et consuetudines et legem Marchiæ, sed et barones talia allegantes læsæ majestatis videbatur arguere.

A.D. 1320. Despenser's construction of the law.

Tanta contumelia barones affecti indignanter recesserunt, et convenientes in Wallia Hugonem Despenser prosequendum, deponendum et penitus destruendum, unanimiter decreverunt. Huic autem decreto principaliter consentientes et juramento astricti fuerunt subscripti: Johannes de Mounbray, comes de Herford, Hugo Daudeleye, et Rogerus de Clifforde, Rogerus Dammory, et inter alios Rogerus de Mortymer avunculus et nepos. Isti venerunt cum multis aliis; et manus comitis Lancastriæ erat cum illis. Quilibet[3] istorum Hugonem[4] diffidat, quia contra singulos Hugo deliquerat: Johannes de Moubray pro terra de Gower, quem supplantare nititur Hugo Despenser; Hugo Daudeleye pro castro detento; comes de Herford pro læso filio; Rogerus de Clifford pro exheredatione matris, quam Hugo procuraverat in præjudicium ipsius; Rogerus Dammori, coheres comitis Gloucestriæ, invidum suum non potest diligere. Rogerus de Mortimer et Rogerus

Confederacy of the barons against him.

The injured lords challenge Hugh le Despenser.

[1] *consuetudines*] consuetudinis, MS.

[2] *ingressum*] in ingressum, MS.

[3] Hearne read *Quibus* in his MS., and *omnibus* by conjecture; he also gives Hugo as the reading of the MS.

[4] *Hugonem*] Hugo, MS.

A.D. 1321. Attitude of Lancaster.

de Mortimer inimici facti sunt Hugoni Despenser quia unum spoliare disposuit et in utrumque mortem avi sui vindicare promisit. Comes Lancastriæ notam infamiæ, quam apud Berewyk pertulit, imputat Hugoni, quam vult vindicari cum tempus acceperit.

The barons request the king to dismiss the younger Hugh.

Igitur antequam rem in actum proferrent, mandarunt domino regi quatinus Hugonem Despenser a se dimitteret, aut electæ custodiæ ipsum committeret, ut[1] certo die judicio sisti posset, quo ad sibi obicienda responderet; alioquin regem pro rege deinceps non haberent, sed homagium et fidelitatem et jusjurandum quodlibet regi præstitum penitus declinarent, et tanquam homines sine rege, sine rectore et sine judice, pro defectu justitiæ in ultionem Hugonis propria auctoritate procederent, et vindictam qualem possent de malefactis tantorum malefactorum expeterent.

The king takes the castle of S. Briavel from Roger Damory.

Indignatus[2] rex vehementer super mandato baronum versus Gloucestriam iter arripuit, et ultra progressus Rogero Dammory, quia partem adversam sustinuit, castrum de Sancto Briavello cum libertate et pertinentiis statim abstulit, et terras Hugonis Daudeleye confiscari jussit, quia, ut rex asserit, contra juramentum quod regi præstiterant baronibus adhæsit. Deinde cum propositum baronum sine forma prædicta suspendere non posset, cum suo Hugone semper a latere Londonias revertitur.

The barons besiege and and take Newport and other castles.

Sed propositum baronum ulterius non differtur, nam castrum de Neuport primitus obsidentes leviter capiunt, et Hugonem Daudeleye, prout jus dictabat, in possessionem mittunt. Cetera castella, quæ Hugo Despenser tenebat in Wallia, modico labore barones occupant, nec custodes defendere nec Walenses, dominationem Hugonis execrantes, tuitionem inferre procurant. Erat

[1] *ut*] et, MS.

[2] *Indignatus*] Indignatur, MS. A council met at Gloucester on the 5th of April; Parl. Writs, II. i. 231.

enim cum baronibus fortitudo copiosa armatorum octingenti et peditum multa milia; nec Hugo Despenser venerat defendere nec custodes indefensi poterant resistere. Quicquid[1] autem pretiosum in castris repeiunt econtra lege juris belli inter ipsos dividunt. Oves, boves et equos non dimittunt, sed quid quis tolleret sine lite statuunt. Dignum namque judicant ut publicentur ejus per quem regnum et optimates regni graviter perturbantur. A.D. 1321. The castles are plundered.

Convenerunt autem incolæ illius terræ ad barones quasi xxx[a] milia hominum, dicentes: "Cesset indignatio "vestra circa nos, dominationem Hugonis Despenser "nunquam gratam habuimus, parati sumus unanimiter "obedire mandatis vestris." Admissi sunt sub tali pacto, ut ab homagio Hugonis Despenser penitus discederent, ut eum pro domino nunquam agnoscerent, sed domino regi per omnia fideles existerent, et vero heredi pro loco et tempore debita servitia illæsa servarent; et hæc omnia tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliis et oretenus appositis specialiter confirmarunt. The men of the marches declare against Hugh le Despenser.

Post rem sic consummatam in Wallia, idem judicium decreverunt barones exercendum in Anglia. Nam omnia bona Hugonis tam patris quam filii ubicunque reperta occuparunt, disperserunt, et publicarunt. Voluntas enim comitis Lancastriæ fuit ut non solum insurgerent in filium, sed ut patrem cum filio mitterent in exterminium, quia antiquum odium erga patrem conceptum tempus vindictæ non viderat acceptum. Et sic interim conjurati sunt barones marchiæ cum comite Lancastriæ in exilium Hugonis Despenser tam patris quam filii, in persecutionem eorum, in dampnationem, in perpetuam exheredationem. Igitur, sicut dixi, occupantur bona eorum, maneria spoliantur, franguntur claustra ferarum, et, forsan quia Hugo pater olim a multis pro feris regiis injustam extorsit redemptionem, The English property of the Despensers seized. Punishment in kind.

[1] *Quicquid*] Quicquam, MS.

A.D. 1321. Parks spoiled.

nunc in feris propriis, quas multum dilexit, patitur ultionem. Sic Pharao submergitur quia infantes submersit; sic frequenter[1] juste contingit ut quis puniatur in quo deliquit.

May. The king calls a council. Some propose to meet force with force: others urge the calling of a parliament.

Cum audisset rex tantam feritatem baronum, convocatis[2] consiliariis suis [pro]posuit consilium. Erant quidam qui justum reputabant esse judicium invadere et occupare castra baronum, ut exemplum quod ipsi præstiterant rètorqueretur in caput eorum. Et huic quidem consilio dominus rex libenter acquievisset si consentaneos[3] sufficientes habuisset. Alii vero sanioris consilii dissuadebant sic fieri. Dicebant enim ex hujusmodi processu nichil aliud evenire quam communem guerram suscitare, terram destruere, et ad perditionem regni properare. Consulebant autem ut rex barones ad parliamentum[4] convocaret, et ibidem sicut decet querelas singulorum audiret, et eas secundum leges terminaret. Vocavit igitur barones ad parliamentum, ut interim cessaret impetus eorum. Venerunt itaque ad parliamentum, sed cum maxima multitudine armatorum.

July. The king delays the hearing of the matter. Urgent message and threat of the barons.

Videns autem rex propositum baronum, animadvertens petitiones eorum, et quod ad hoc tendebant omnimodo, ut exterminarent privatum suum, nitebatur differre negotium. Nolebant dilationem ferre magnates. Noluit rex audire barones, et ita per aliquot dies suspendebat rex petitiones eorum donec unanimiter omnes unum conformaverunt decretum, mandantes domino regi quatinus querelas eorum audiret et petitionibus eorum secundum justitiam satisfaceret, aut ab homagio suo penitus discederent et alium rectorem sibi præficerent qui justitiam omnibus faceret et collum nocen-

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[1] *sic frequenter*] rep. MS.

[2] The council was summoned to meet at Oxford May 10, but afterwards called to Westminster for May 17; Parl. Writs, II. ii. 159.

[3] *consentaneos*] concentaneos, MS.

[4] The parliament was summoned on the 15th of May to meet at Westminster July 15, and sat until the 22nd of August; Parl. Writs, II. i. 234, 237.

tium et superborum humiliaret; et hoc quidem mandatum comes de Penbrok et alii magnates qui videbantur mediatores regi deferebant,[1] qui tamen cum baronibus et querelis eorum defendendis usque ad mortem juramentum præstiterant.

A.D. 1321. July. Mediation of the earl of Pembroke.

Tunc comes Adomarus coram rege hujusmodi verba fertur protulisse. "Considera," inquit, "domine rex, "potentiam baronum; imminens adverte periculum; "nec frater nec soror te tibi debet esse carior. Noli "ergo pro aliquo vivente perdere regnum tuum. 'Al"'pibus ille perit qui plus se diligit ullum.' Nec "dicat dominus rex in contumeliam suam hæc a ba"ronibus inchoata; sed, quia publice utile est ut "malis hominibus evacuetur patria, et ad hoc, domine "rex, præstitisti juramentum in coronatione tua; ergo si "barones audieris potenter et gloriose regnare poteris; "sin autem, et a petitionibus eorum aures[2] avertis,[3] "regnum forsan et nos omnes consequenter amittes.[4] "Conjurati enim sumus, quia paribus nostris contra"dicere non possumus."

The earl's advice to the king, to suffer the Despensers to be banished.

Videns ergo rex quod vehementer irruerunt in eum, annuebat licet invitus petitionibus eorum. Tunc missus est ex parte regis archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, qui barones ad Westmonasterium convocaret, ubi coram rege convenirent, et quod ratio dictaret sine dilatione reportarent. Nec mora, congregatis omnibus apud Westmonasterium, perlectæ sunt coram rege querelæ eorum baronum et protinus adjectæ petitiones eorum, et quia nemo contradicere posset sequebatur conforme judicium. Summam autem querelæ paucis verbis libet exprimere.

The barons are assembled and the judgment passed.

Arguebatur Hugo nimium cupidus et per hoc regi minus ydoneus; arguebatur malus consiliarius; argue-

Sum of the complaints.

[1] *deferebant*] differrebant, MS.

[2] *aures*] a nostris, MS. Hearne inserts "et" and leaves "a nos-"tris" as it stands.

[3] *avertis*] advertis, MS.

[4] *amittes*] amittis, MS.

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A.D. 1321. Charges against the Despensers.

batur conspirator et falsus; arguebatur destructor[1] populi, exheredator coronæ, inimicus regis et regni. Hæc omnia contra Hugonem barones allegabant, et super hiis tam patrem quam filium constanter accusabant. Non erat qui patrem vel filium defenderet, non erat qui pro ipsis contra barones disputaret.

Judgment and sentence.

Tunc in conspectu domini regis, prælatorum, comitum et baronum, prolatum est judicium in Hugonem Despenser patrem et filium. Nam uterque tanquam malus et falsus domini regis consiliarius, tanquam seductor et conspirator vel exheredator coronæ et destructor populi, et inimicus regis et regni, condempnatur, proscribitur et exheredatur; et super hoc editum est statutum, ut judicium, tanta auctoritate firmatum, nullum revocetur in ævum.

Its severity justified by the conduct of the elder Despenser.

Ecce duo viri inter magnates terræ, et ipsius regis speciales nuper præcipui, natale solum et solium deseruerunt licet inviti. Res miranda quia tam subita; subitas enim mutationes odit et miratur natura. Revera judicio multorum juste accidit eis hoc infortunium. Pater namque ferus et cupidus olim multis nocuit, et excommunicationes multorum promeruit. Cum enim esset justitiarius de foresta multos accusavit de venatione regia, multos nequiter exheredavit, quosdam in exilium compulit, iniquas redemptiones a pluribus extorsit, mille libratas terræ per concussionem adunavit, et ecce! manum Dei vel corrigentem vel provenientem jam sensit. Communi vero judicio juste perdidit quod per jacturam aliorum prius congregavit. Sed nonne legitur in sacris scripturis: "Filius "non portabit iniquitatem patris"? Ezek. xviii. 20.

The case of Hugh the son.

Ad hoc videntur respondere, videlicet quod commoditas iniquitatis paternæ ad filium debuit devenire; justum fuit ut paternum vitium communiter redundaret in filium. Sed et secundum quosdam malitia

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[1] *destructor*] distructor, MS.

filii præponderabat[1] paternæ severitati. Nam de regio favore confisus omnia pro imperio agebat, omnia captabat, nulli nec alicui quantumcunque auctoritatis deferebat, coheredibus suis moliebatur insidias; sic, si fieri posset, per occasiones fictas uterque partem suam amitteret, et ipse solus solidum comitatum optineret. Ipsi vero, auxilio freti baronum, malitiæ ejus occurrerunt. Nam et patrem et filium simul in exilium agitarunt. Verumptamen judicio fidedignorum barones in persecutione sua excesserunt modum. Nam, si causas exilii justas invenerunt, bona tamen eorum non juste occuparunt. Quare maneria eorum destruxerunt, quamobrem a familiaribus[2] redemptiones extorserunt? Si justam causam prius habuerunt, jus et injuriam modo converterunt. Sic Saul dum percussit Amalec Deo placuit, sed, postquam ad prædam versus armentis pepercit et gregibus, Deo displicuit, quia quod non debuit perpetravit. Cartas autem remissionis quas a rege barones impetrarunt[3] non sicut decuit exegerunt, et iccirco commodo earum[4] postmodum caruerunt. Sic Babilonii induxerunt regem invitum, ut Danielem mitteret in lacum leonum, et, quia hoc injuste fecerunt, pœnam condignam postmodum pertulerunt.

A.D. 1321. His usurpations and aggressions.

The barons were incautious in their prosecution.

1 Sam. xv. 16.

The pardon of the prosecutors was useless.

Dan. vi. 16.

Hiis itaque gestis Hugo pater transmarinas partes se transtulit; Hugo vero filius in mari remansit, quem dominus rex tutelæ nautarum de portubus obnixe commendarat. Et factus est Hugo belua marina insidians mercatoribus qui transibant. Maria occupavit, merces eorum et cetera bona, et nulla navis transibat intacta, sed in grandem navem Januensem quam vulgo appellant[5] dromonem invasit, et nautis peremptis infinita bona quæ navi inerant[6] ad suos usus sequestravit.

The elder Hugh goes abroad, the younger goes to sea

Plunder of a Genoese dromond.

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[1] *præponderabat*] præponderebat, MS.

[2] *familiaribus*] famuliaribus, MS.

[3] *impetrarunt*] impetravit, MS.

[4] *earum*] eorum, MS.

[5] *appellant*] appellat, MS.

[6] *inerant*] inierant, MS.

A.D. 1321. The king determines to attack the enemies of the Despensers.

Interim dominus rex magnates illos, qui Hugonem in exilium compulerant, expungnare decrevit, pro eo quod castella exulantium occupaverant, et maneria exulantium tam patris quam filii turpiter destruxerant; et quia bona exulum, quæ fisco magis applicari debuerant, in suos usus sumpserant et consumpserant; et licet dominus rex hujusmodi transgressiones diceretur remisisse, et unicuique cartam concessisse, dicebat tamen et protestabatur se invitum hoc fecisse et voluntatem coactam nullam esse.

October. He takes Leeds castle.

Igitur dominus rex Bartholomæum de Badelesmere primitus expungnavit, et castrum ipsius apud Ledes personaliter obsedit. Tunc congregati sunt majores de Marchia ut[1] succursum obsessis præstarent, sed prohibitio comitis Lancastriæ fecit quominus auxilium promissum inferrent. Comes enim dictum Bartholomæum odio habuit, et plures transgressiones sibi imposuit, ob quas vel carcere perpetuo vel saltem exilio dignum fore decrevit; et sic obsessi in castro succursu caruerunt, unde et non valentes resistere castrum reddiderunt. Reperit autem rex infra castrum prædones, homicidas et proditores; et hos quidem protrahi jussit, illos suspendit et reliquos carceri mancipavit.

Punishment of the defenders.

Voluit enim rex exemplum aliis præbere, ut nullus de cetero audeat contra eum munitiones tenere. Sicut enim nullus potest in terra castra sine regis licentia construere, ita nec fas est contra regem in regno castra defendere.

He seizes the castles of Badlesmere, Hereford, Damory, and Audley.

Deinde misit rex manus et occupavit cetera castra Bartholomæi, et comitis Herfordiæ, Rogeri Dammory et Hugonis de Audeleye; nec inventi sunt aliqui resistentes, quia ultio sumpta de hiis apud Ledes vehementer terruit omnes. Extendit etiam rex manus ad maneria baronum qui Hugonis procuraverant exilium, et bona eorum occupavit; sed et omnes adhærentes eis et eorum fautores universos deprædavit.

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[1] *ut*] om. MS.

Cum igitur occupasset rex munitiones baronum a parte orientali, idem disposuit faciendum in parte occidentali. Tunc congregavit exercitum copiosum iturus in Marchiam ut magnates expungnaret qui occupabant partem illam. Ibi enim fuit tutissimum refugium baronum, et regi sine manu valida difficile penetrandum.

A.D. 1321. The king marches into the west.

Convenerunt autem in auxilium domini regis duo fratres sui, videlicet Thomas comes Marescallus et Edmundus comes Cantiæ, pro ætate strenui. Sed et comes de Penbrok divertebat se ad partem regis eo quod comes Lancastriæ imposuerat se proditionis. Expertus erat comes Lancastriæ, ut dixit, hominem illum infidum et varium, et baronibus indixerat auxilium ejus repudiandum.

He is joined by his brothers and the earl of Pembroke;

Eratque cum rege comes de Arundel propter affinitatem Hugonis Despenser; comes de Warenna et comes de Rychmund adhæserunt domino regi, et alii barones potentes et multi. Isti promiserunt domino regi auxilium præstare et injuriam sibi illatam pro posse vindicare. Robertus le Ewer, qui alio modo dicitur Aquarius, erat dux peditum, et Fulco filius Warini militiæ conduxit exercitum.

the earls of Arundel, Warenne, and Richmond.

Robertus le Ewer nomen sumpsit a re, quia in aula regis aquam solebat ministrare. Fulco filius Warini, qui nunc militat, nomen et cognomen antecessorum suorum portat. Nam Fulco filius Warini primus in diebus regis Johannis miles fuit famosus, cui successit Fulco secundus, homo remissus et tepidus. Successit isti [1] Fulco tertius, miles fortis et strenuus et in Hispannia contra paganos pluries expertus. Sic frequenter evenit quod post probum improbus et e contra succedit; et talis genealogia [2] ratione forte non caret. Nam probitas viri per comparationem lucide apparet. Sic figulus juxta artem suam quædam vasa ad hono-

Robert le Ewer and Fulk Fitzwarin.

Rom. ix. 21.

[1] *isti*] iste, MS.

[2] *genealogia*] genologia, MS.

A.D. 1321. rem, quædam componit ad contumeliam, ut hæc quæ facit ad honorem comparatione deteriorum majorem habeant decorem.

The king keeps Christmas at Cirencester. A.D. 1322. The barons oppose his crossing the Severn.

Igitur dominus rex cum exercitu suo versus Cyrencestriam[1] iter arripuit, et ibidem propter Natale Domini per aliquot dies perhendinavit. Barones autem præoccupaverant Gloucestriam; quamobrem rex divertebat Wygorniam, nec ibidem transivit Sabrinam quia barones ex parte adversa custodiebant ripam.

Bridgenorth burned.

Præmisit quoque rex apud Bruggenorthe viros armatos et pedites qui præpararent transitum suum. Restiterunt domini de Mortimer necnon et gravem ei fecerunt insultum. Nam magnam partem villæ incenderunt, et de servis regis plurimos occiderunt. Reliquit autem rex villam ad sinistram, et sic adivit ad Salopiam, ut ibidem transiret in Marchiam. Poterant ad hæc barones si voluissent cursum regis impedisse;

The Mortimers allow him to pass at Shrewsbury, and surrender.

sed domini de Mortymer noluerunt ulterius consentire, eo quod juxta placitos dies non venit comes Lancastriæ: timebant enim aliquid magnum aggredi sine comite. Iccirco sine comite noluerunt domino regi amplius resistere. Unde videntes quod comes non succurreret in articulo necessitatis, relictis sociis, reddiderunt se voluntati domini regis. Reliqui vero comites[2] vehementer attoniti comitem Lancastriæ adierunt, et ea quæ sic gesta erant in lacrymis narraverunt Comes autem in protectionem suam omnes recepit, et pro communi querela defendenda sub jurejurando auxilium promisit.

The king upbraids the bishop of Hereford.

Rex igitur, relicta Salopia, in Marchiam transivit, et quia nemo restitit omnia castella faciliter occupavit. Veniensque rex apud Herfordiam episcopum loci acriter increpavit, eo quod contra naturalem dominum

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[1] The king was at Cirencester at Christmas; on the 2nd of January at Worcester; Jan. 9 at Droitwich; Jan. 13 at Newport; Jan. 15–24 at Shrewsbury; Feb. 6 at Gloucester.

[2] *Reliqui vero comites*] relequi vero comitis, MS.

suum barones sustinuit, unde et plurima bona ipsius in ultionem confiscavit. A.D. 1322. February.

Deinde rediit rex apud Gloucestriam, et Mauricium de Berkelee recepit in gratiam suam. Jussit eum nihilominus in custodiam mitti et castrum de Berkelee cum omnibus bonis suis pariter confiscari. Exinde misit rex illos de Mortymer ad Turrim Londoniarum ut ibidem remanerent, ne forte prioris facti pœnitentes ad socios suos barones resilirent. Maurice Berkeley surrenders. The Mortimers sent to the Tower.

Dum autem rex moram faceret in villa Gloucestriæ, oblatus est quidam miles de partibus Herfordiæ, et notificatum est regi quod miles ille officium vicecomitis gesserat, et nichilominus cum baronibus equitaverat, et quod, in illa secta quam barones dabant militibus pro notitia, in contumelia regis placita comitatus tenuerat. Unde decretum est militem illum tanquam proditorem fore puniendum; sed rex ex gratia pœnam proditorum remisit, sed suspendendum fore decrevit, et suspensus est miles ille in secta prædicta, ut[1] sicut patebat pœna pateret et causa. A knight of Herefordshire hanged, for holding the county court in the livery of the barons.

Eodem tempore venit Andreas de Herkelee miles de partibus borialibus ad regem dicens; "Ecce, domine, "treugæ Scotorum jam finitæ, Robertus de Brutz fines "Anglorum invasu incendit, deprædatur et cædit. "Non est qui populum defendit, non est qui pro populo se murum apponit. Iccirco, domine mi rex, "bonum esset, aliis negotiis postpositis,[2] populo oppresso "primitus succurrere, qui sine auxilio regis sui sævitiæ[3] Scotorum non possunt resistere." Respondit rex: "Scias," inquit, "Andrea, pro certo, quod si michi "Robertus de Brutz immineret a tergo, et homines "meos, qui tot et tanta enormia michi intulerunt, a "fronte conspicerem, proditores illos invaderem, et "Robertum de Brutz inpersecutum dimitterem. Nimi- Andrew Harclay urges the king to go into the North, against the Scots.

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[1] *ut*] et, MS.
[2] *postpositis*] præpositis, MS.
[3] *savitiæ*] sevite, MS.

A.D. 1322. The king insists that the rebels must be put down first.

"rum si Scoti, qui nullo vinculo michi tenentur "obnoxii,[1] regnum meum invadunt, cum hii, qui "fidelitate et homagio michi tenentur astricti, contra "me insurgunt, homines meos spoliant et villas in-"cendunt; si dominum expungnant servi, quanto magis "extraneus? Sic ait David rex cum persequeretur "eum Absolon et malediceret ei Semei: 'Ecce,' inquit, "'filius meus quærit animam meam; quanto magis "'hic filius Jemini [2] maledicit michi;' et non permisit "aliquem nocere ei." 2 Sam. xvi. 11.

He sends Harclay back to the North; and collects a larger force against the barons.

Dixit autem rex ad militem: "Revertere ad partes "tuas et serva munitiones tibi commissas; ego vero "persequar proditores meos ubicunque se convertant, "et non revertar donec deficiant." Jussit itaque dominus rex viros fortes et armatos et pedites ex singulis comitatibus congregari, et copiosum exercitum ad inimicos debellandum festinanter adunari. Inimicos suos omnes appellat quos pars baronum secum sustentat, sicut scriptum est "Qui non est mecum contra me "est." S. Luke, ix. 23. Iccirco bis vel ter proclamari fecit solempniter quod omnes hii qui ad partem baronum diverterant [3] infra certum diem ad pacem regis redirent; alioquin [4] velut hostes publici regi puniendi sine spe redeundi extunc remanerent.

The two Despensers return to England.

Circa idem tempus Hugo Despenser pater et filius reversi sunt ab exilio, eo quod reconciliatio eorum et pax nutu regio proclamata foret in regno. Redierunt, inquam, in Angliam quia rex novit eos exulasse per invidiam. Poterant adhuc barones ad pacem venisse, veniam et misericordiam regis forsan impetrasse, sed modo quicquid agunt aut machinantur in confusionem et dampnationem totaliter operantur. Nam, de protectione comitis Lancastriæ nimis elati, resistentes cædunt, patientes spoliant, nec parcunt alicui, et ad majorem

Violence of the barons.

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[1] *obnoxii*] obnoxi, MS.
[2] *Jemini*] Genui, MS.
[3] *diverterant*] divertant, MS.
[4] *alioquin*] aliquin, MS.

dampnationem suam castrum ipsius regis apud Tykhulle invadunt, et ad captionem castri toto nisu licet incassum laborant.

A.D. 1322. They besiege Tickhill.

Dominus rex nimirum super hiis vehementer commotus apud Coventriam iter arripuit, et ibidem exercitum venturum per aliquot dies exspectavit. Exinde conduxit exercitum usque ad magnum fluvium qui dicitur Trente. Est autem ibidem pons magnus qui viam præbet transeuntibus. Præmisit quoque rex ad pontem cuneum fortem armatorum et peditum, scire volens an[1] aliquis impediret transitum suum. Venerat autem comes Lancastriæ cum omni sequela sua in villam de Burghtone ex parte alia.

The king collects forces at Coventry and proceeds towards the Trent.

The earl of Lancaster at Burton.

Cumque jam fuisset compertum quod rex disposuit transire fluvium, misit comes viros fortes armatos et pedites qui pontem defenderent. Verum cum per tres pluresve dies inter se partes dimicassent, ac ad eundem conflictum in crastinum rediissent, reperit rex vadum superius, ubi transiit ipse et reliqua pars exercitus. Audientes itaque barones et jam videntes quod rex flumen transisset, pontem reliquerunt, equos ascenderunt et fugam inierunt. Sed quare fugit comes Lancastriæ qui totiens solebat regi resistere, præcipue cum haberet secum comitem Herfordiæ et clariorem militiam totius Angliæ? Revera magna erat nunc manus regis et valida. Habebat enim circiter omnibus numeratis trecenta milia numero.

The king crosses the Trent.

The earl of Lancaster flies northwards.

Mandaverat comes Roberto de Hoylond, quem præposuerat[2] gazis suis, quatinus exercitum conduceret de viris fortissimis, et certum diem veniendi statuit; sed præfixo die Robertus non venit, immo prævaricator in causa domini sui reddidit se domino regi; unde comitis sequaces auxilium parum abesse videntes pontem reliquerunt, equos ascenderunt, [et fu]ge[runt].[3]

Robert Holland, an officer of the earl's, deserts to the king.

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[1] *an*] aut, MS.; utrum, Hearne.
[2] *præposuerat*] proposuerat, MS.
[3] *et fugerunt*] Hearne suggests "diligenter;" only the two letters "ge" seem to have been legible in the MS.

A.D. 1322. March. Tutbury and Kenilworth taken.

Persequebatur rex fugientes usque ad castrum de Totbury,[1] quod erat comitis Lancastriæ, invenitque rex januas apertas, eo quod post fugam comitis nullus audebat resistere. Sed et custos castri de Kenele-worthe,[2] audita fuga comitis, reddidit statim castrum in manus vicecomitis. Repperit autem rex apud Tot-tebury Rogerum Dammori in extremis laborantem; erat enim infirmitas ad mortem, quia non vixit ultra tertium diem; et bene quidem et honeste sibi contigit quod ad finem desolatum cum sociis non duravit. Iste Rogerus olim pauper miles et tenuis ob industriam et probitatem suam factus est regis specialis, quam-obrem dedit ei rex neptem suam in uxorem, et de comitatu Gloucestriæ quæ contingebat eam tertiam partem; sed quia cum baronibus contra regem tenuit, notam ingratitudinis a multis reportavit.

Roger Damory captured. His death.

Comes igitur Lancastriæ et comes Herfordiæ, cum omnibus sibi adhærentibus, in fugam conversi, ad Pount-freit pervenerunt. Ibidem aliquantam moram facien-tes, tandem diffinito consilio versus Scotiam iter arri-puerunt. In Scotiam sperabant habere confugium, quia Robertus de Brutz, ut dictum erat, contra regem pro-miserat auxilium.

Lancaster and Hereford fly to Pomfret and thence northwards.

Cumque apud Borbrigge venissent ut ibidem saltem una nocte requiescerent, ecce Andreas de Herkelee miles strenuus,[3] cui jam de fuga comitis innotuerat, qui etiam progressum[4] ejus et propositum plenius ex-ploraverat, quasi cum quatuor milibus virorum vene-rat quos ad locum illum repente conduxerat. Audi-entes autem comites, qui erant infra villam quasi jam hospitati, quod venerat Andreas et sui sequaces ad expungnandum eos totaliter, exierunt villam biper-tito[5] cum adversariis congressuri. Comes Herfordiæ cum suis armatis per pontem transivit, sed nullus

Andrew Harclay meets them at Boroughbridge.

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[1] *Totbury*] The king was at Tutbury March 11–13.

[2] *Keneleworthe*] Kneleworthe, MS.

[3] *strenuus*] strenuis, MS.

[4] *progressum*] progressu, MS.

[5] *bipertito*] bipertitam, H.

eorum equum ascendit. Erat enim pons strictus, nec viam equitibus ad bellum procedentibus præbere potuit. Comes Lancastriæ cum suis militibus ad vadum fluminis viam arripuit. Sed Andreas de Herkeleye, tanquam miles providus, ad utrumque exitum cuneum armatorum sapienter statuit. Comes Herfordiæ partem adversam primitus aggreditur; decertando male vulneratus tandem occiditur. Tres vel quatuor milites in ipso certamine cum comite perierunt. Rogerus de Clifford et alii quamplurimi male vulnerati ad villam redierunt. Alii vero, dum vadum transire nituntur, ab ymbre sagittarum misere[1] atteruntur; sed post mortem comitis Herfordiæ sua virtus tepuit militiæ, et statim revertuntur. Pepigit autem comes Lancastriæ cum Andrea de Herkelee de treuga et pace servanda usque in crastinum; et hoc facto rediit unusquisque ad hospitium suum. Ipsa vero nocte vicecomes Eboraci cum magna cohorte venerat inimicos regis invadere; cujus auxilio fretus[2] Andreas de Herkelee villam intravit summo mane, et cepit comitem Lancastriæ et omnes pene reliquos milites et scutarios sine vulnere, et perducens Eboracum reclusit in carcerem. Quidam[3] equos reliquerunt, et exuentes arma sua veteres attritas vestes quæsierunt sibi, et more mendicantium viam incesserunt. Sed cautela non profuit, nam nec unus quidem famosus ex omnibus evasit.

A.D. 1322. March. Battle of Boroughbridge.

Hereford killed.

A truce taken until the next day.

The earl of Lancaster taken and sent to York.

O monstrum! videre viros purpura et bisso nuper indutos nunc attritis vestibus incedere, et vinctos in compedibus recludi sub carcere! Res miranda et certe nutu Dei et auxilio promota, quod tam rara manu subito superatur tanta militia. Pars[4] enim comitis numero armatorum partem persequentium excessit in septuplum. Capti sunt enim cum comite Lancastriæ

A wonderful catastrophe.

[1] *misere*] usum, MS. This is unintelligible; Hearne proposes "usque" or "usquequaque."

[2] *fretus*] fertus, MS.

[3] *Quidam*] Hearne reads "Evitare," and supposes this to be equivalent to "ut evitarent."

[4] *Pars*] Per, MS.

A.D. 1322. March. Number of prisoners.

et ceteris baronibus milites valentes centum et amplius. Sed et scutariorum non minus[1] valentium multo majorem credo fuisse numerum. Quare igitur non restitissent et pro salute sua viriliter dimicassent? Revera cor delinquentium semper est pavidum et ideo minus valens ad negotium. Videbant totam patriam a fronte excitatam, et per hoc viam eorum impeditam. Sciebant a tergo imminere regis exercitum, et propter hoc cursum retrogradum non esse securum. Unde quasi homines non habentes consilium nec etiam tempus ad deliberandum, inciderunt in manus inimicorum, etc.

There must have been a panic.

The earl brought before the king at Pomfret.

Quarto quintove die post captionem comitis Lancastriæ veniens rex apud Pontfreit jussit adduci comitem sine dilatione, et statim jussu regis adducitur, et in quadam nova turri per noctem illam[2] recluditur. Fertur comes turrim illam noviter construxisse, et regem captum in ipsa recludendum perpetuum decrevisse, sed et leonem more Lumbardorum principem constituisse. Hæc erat fama vulgaris, sed non audivi testem veritatis.

He is tried and condemned.

In crastinum producitur comes in aulam coram justitiariis assignatis, et singillatim species transgressionis, ac pro quolibet articulo adicitur pœna specialis, videlicet, ut primo protraheretur, deinde suspenderetur, ac postremo capite truncaretur. Sed ob reverentiam regii sanguinis pœna protractionis est remissa, suspensio suspensa, sed pœna pro omnibus decreta. At comes, volens se in aliquibus excusare, nitebatur quædam statim allegare; sed justitiarii noluerunt ipsum audire quia verba dampnatorum sicut nec nocent nec possunt proficere. Tunc ait comes: "Fortis est hæc "curia, et major imperio, ubi non auditur responsio "nec aliqua admittitur excusatio."

The judges refuse to hear him.

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[1] *minus*] unus, MS.
[2] *illam*] illa, MS. The king was at Pomfret March 22–30.

O spectaculum! videre comitem Lancastriæ, qui nuper erat terror totius patriæ, in castro proprio et domo judicium recipere. Deinde educitur comes extra castrum, et ascendens quoddam vile jumentum conductus est ad capitolium. Tunc comes quasi orando caput extendit, et spiculator bis vel ter percutiens caput amputavit. Et hæc acta sunt mense Martii anno regni quintodecimo. A.D. 1322. March. He is beheaded.

O comes Lancastriæ! ubi est dominatio tua, ubi sunt divitiæ tuæ, quibus sperabas omnes subicere et nullum contra te posse resistere? Si in primæva fide perdurasses, ad desolatum nequaquam pervenisses. Si Sampson in cautela et Salomon in devotione perstitissent, nec hic viribus nec ille sapientia privatus fuisset. Forte latens causa, non præsens sed præterita, comitem punivit. Comes Lancastriæ caput Petri de Gavestone olim abstulit, et nunc jussu regis comes Lancastriæ caput perdidit. Sic vicem pro vice, forsan non injuste, comes reportavit, sicut scriptum est in sacris litteris: "Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis "remetietur vobis." Sic Abner occidit Asahel percutiens in inguine,[1] sed Abner non evasit; nam postea interiit consimili vulnere. Sic in principio Judicum cepit Judas regem Bezel et vinxit captivum, ac summitates manuum ejus præscidit et pedum. Tunc ait rex ille captus, "Merito fecit hoc michi Dominus, ego "enim lxx. reges in bello ceperam et omnes hac Violent deeds bring their own punishment. S. Luke, vi. 38. 2 Sam. ii. 23. Judges, i. 67.

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[Desunt sex folia.]

tempore comes Wyntoniensis, licentiatus a rege ad partes australes se transtulit ut maneria sua visitaret, quia post destructionem jam dudum non vidit. Cum audis loqui de comite Wyntoniensi, intellige de Hugone Despenser seniore. A.D. 1323. Hugh le Despenser visits his manors.

[1] *inguine*] igne, MS.

A.D. 1323. Robert le Ewer visits the manors of Hugh le Despenser, and spends his money.

Accessit itaque Robertus Lewer ad maneria comitis Wyntoniensis, et cepit ibidem victualia et alia necessaria pro sua voluntate. Visitavit etiam maneria Henrici Thyeys et Warini de Insula, comiti Wyntoniensi post dampnationem eorum a rege collata. Et ibidem dominus Robertus elemosinarum nomine[1] pro animabus dictorum baronum fecit magnam distributionem pauperibus. Ex hoc tamen parum promeruit, quia[2] non quid fiat sed quo animo Deus attendit. Non potest dici elemosina quæ fit ex furto vel rapina. Nam, sicut dicitur alibi, species furti ex bonis alterius invito domino quicquam largiri.

Hugh prepares to defend himself at Windsor.

Audiens autem comes Wyntoniensis quod venisset Robertus eum comprehendere, intravit castrum de Wyndelsore, et fecit fieri excubias die et nocte, donec congregasset virtutem sufficientem ad excipiendum Robertum et comitivam suam. Venit etiam in auxilium ejus comes Cantiæ missus a latere regis. Sic ergo Robertus caruit proposito suo, et sui cotidie divertebant ab eo. Cumque videret jam aliud subsidium nullum superesse, veniens clam apud Hamptone super mare, cogitavit ibidem cum uxore sua transfretare. Sed omnibus incolis facie notissimus, utpote apud illos diu conversatus, latere non potuit. Quodam[3] die comprehensum in urbe minister regis in carcerem detrusit. Productus vero coram justitiariis, interrogatus et accusatus in multis, nichil respondit. Quem discretio judicum ad peragendam sententiam suam in carcerem retorsit. Pœna siquidem, scienter obmutescentibus debita, talis per regnum usitata. Sedebit incarceratus in area frigida et nuda captivus, unica sola et tenuissima veste velatus, tanto pondere ferri quantum miserum corpus ferre valuerit oppressus.

Robert le Ewer deserted by his men, and arrested.

He refuses to plead, and is subjected to "peine forte et dure."

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1 *elemosinarum nomine*] Hearne reads "elemosinarius nam," which is unintelligible.

2 *quia*] que, MS.

3 *Quodam*] Quædam, MS.

Cibus erit illi panis deterior[1] et modicus, et potus aquæ liquor turbidus et fœtidus. Die qua commedit non potabit, nec die qua potaverit panem gustabit. Communis humanæ naturæ virtutem superaret qui quintum vel sextum diem sub hac pœna transigeret. A.D. 1323. Nature of the proceeding.

Hujusmodi pœnæ per aliquot dies Robertus astrictus tandem occubuit, et ita pro delictis[2] dignam ultionem et animæ salutiferam, si tamen patienter ipsam tum sustinuit, in fine reportavit. Ipse Robertus, in curia regis olim educatus, in rebus bellicis cautus erat et strenuus. Verumptamen de favore curiæ confisus, et variis moribus a juventute consuetus, ad prædas et homicidia semper erat præcipuus. Ceterum quia tum quendam bonum occidit, et uxorem ejus superduxit, quam etiam in adulterio prius posuerat, omne alium delictum longius excedit. Sic igitur Robertus cecidit ut meruit, et comes Wyntoniensis indempnis evasit. Death of Robert. He met his deserts and the earl escaped.

Aliud quoque non minus timendum accidit Wyntoniensi comiti periculum. Mauricius de Berkele, jam fere per annum detentus, tum moram traxit in castro Walynfordiæ, ad quem solebat quidam armiger qui diu steterat in obsequio ipsius frequenter intrare, et ob priorem familiaritatem domino suo beneficium consolationis impendere. Accidit autem quadam die ut armiger ille cum tribus vel quatuor sociis intraret castrum, de licentia custodis, propter solitum accessum in nullo suspectus. Eadem nocte rogavit Mauricius constabularium ut cœnaret cum eo; insuper et[3] janitores et vigiles quotquot[4] erant in castro. Cœnantibus autem illis subito surrexit armiger cum sociis suis, et petiit claves castri sibi reddi, necnon et minas mortis intendebat cuilibet repungnanti. Maurice Berkeley, detained at Wallingford, entertains his guards. Plot for his escape. The keys demanded.

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[1] *deterior*] deterius, MS.; perhaps "deterrimus" would be a better reading.

[2] *pro delictis*] per electis, MS.

[3] *et*] e, MS.

[4] *quotquot*] in quotquot, MS.

A.D. 1323. The keys surrendered, and the prisoner's friends admitted.

Videns ergo constabularius quod non posset resistere, tradidit claves sine dilatione. Tunc armiger ille ad quandam privatam portam accessit, et circiter xx^ti^ socios statim introduxit. Et hæc quidem facta sunt sub tanto silentio ut nec clamor nec murmur resonaret in castro. Tandem puer quidam residens ad exteriorem portam, postquam sentiit quod interior custodia insolito modo tractabatur, latenter exivit, audiensque velle castrum perditum et multos extraneos intrasse protinus nuntiavit. Primum quidem nuntius a prædicto armigero cum litteris emissus testis accessit. Disposuerat enim armiger ille quosdam socios præmunisse, et in gallicinio dominum suum Mauricium et ceteros vinculatos[1] pariter eduxisse. Sed nuntius machinationis proditoriæ timens periculum subire accessit ad majorem villæ. Populus convocatur, pulsantur campanæ, tonant cornua, et vox horrida plebis extollitur.

The mayor of Wallingford raises the townsmen.

Tunc qui erant infra castrum audientes populi tumultum[2] suspicabantur consilium suum jam esse detectum, et per consequens propositum eorum impeditum; unde statuerunt custodes et[3] ad singulas excubias per totum murum ordinaverunt. Mane facto divulgata est res per totam patriam, accessitque vicecomes ad villam, et hortabatur interiores ad castri deditionem. Illi vero asserebant[4] se regis auctoritate castrum intrasse, nec cuiquam homini sine regis mandato reddere velle. Et hoc quidem responso[5] usi sunt ad cautelam, ut sic proditionem suam palliarent et nacta oportunitate temporis a castro recederent.

The sheriff demands the surrender of the castle.

The conspirators allege an order of the king.

The castle watched day and night.

Non credidit vicecomes responsum, quia non fecerunt ei fidem de regis mandato. Immo statim accesserunt robustiores totius patriæ; et fecit fieri vigilias circa castrum die ac nocte donec certificaretur super alle-

[1] *vinculatos*] vinculatores, MS.

[2] *populi tumultum*] populum tumultu, MS. "Potest etiam legi *populum tumultuantem*;" Hearne.

[3] *et*] om. MS.

[4] *asserebant*] asserebantur, MS.

[5] *responso*] responsio, MS.

gata regis auctoritate. Advenerunt in auxilium vicecomitis comes Wyntoniæ et comes Cantiæ, quoniam tunc erant in partibus illis; et statim disposuerunt[1] castrum invadere et proditores vi et armis ad deditionem compellere. Videntes autem interiores tot et tantos viros ad obsidionem,[2] et captionem tandem evitari non posse, quantoque diutius rebellarent, tanto graviori pœnæ subjacerent, portas aperiunt et liberum introitum cunctis promittentes in quadam capella omnes conveniunt.

A.D. 1323. The earls of Winchester and Kent arrive and the conspirators surrender.

Tunc ingressi comites reperierunt Mauricium in solita custodia, reliquos autem in capella. Non profuit eis immunitas ecclesiæ; nam protinus extracti truduntur in castrum. Ille vero interrogatus cur proditores in castrum regis advocare præsumpsit, nichil in præjudicium domini regis machinatum constanter affirmavit, et cognitorem[3] omnium cordium et omnes homines exceptis adversariis suis testes adjecit. Tunc significaverunt domino regi omnia acta cum responso Mauricii. Rescripsit rex comiti Cantiæ . . . . consensu Mauricii diligenter inquireret, et dictum armigerum ceterorum sig . . . . . suis

They take refuge in the chapel.

Berkeley professes his innocence.

* * * * * *

[Deest folium unum.]

" sæpius promovit; et, si per lapsum temporis populum suum in unitate reduxerit, id quod prius profuit in vanum redibit. Præterea diutina pax homines nostros effeminatos reddet, et usus armorum suspensus inbellem gentem nostram efficiet. Sed et hii qui nunc apti sunt ad prælium inutiles fient, vergentes in senium; et hæc omnia nobis incommoda conferet[4] tempus vacationis productæ. Super hiis igitur consulimus quod regi Anglorum perpetua

A.D. 1324. Consideration of the Scots in favour of a pretended proposal of peace.

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[1] *disposuerunt*] deposuerunt, MS.

[2] *obsidionem*] obsidicionem, MS.

[3] *cognitorem*] cogitorem, MS.

[4] *conferet*] conferret, MS.

A.D. 1324.

The king will soon have work enough on his hands.

"concordia offeratur,[1] et pax fiat, alioquin de treugis "initis non multum confidat. Et quia rex Anglorum, "sicut creditur, certamen est habiturus cum Francis, "eo citius speramus optinere quod petimus."

Robert Bruce proposes a perpetual peace.

Tunc misit Robertus le Brutz ad regem Angliæ, dicens: "Domine, placet Scotis in pacem perpetuam "treugas convertere, et quid tibi placuerit, si bonum "tibi videtur, velitis rescribere. Multi enim nostris "treugis[2] initis ægre consenserant. Unde timeo ne "forsan pace repulsa pacta servabo, sed multorum "grassantium rabiem solus cohibere non potero. Nam "et rex Getheus, qui satis in David sibi complacuit, "eum tamen contra vota satraparum sustinere non 1 Sam. xxix. "potuit."

A conference held at York.

Animadvertens rex Angliæ quod artaret eum negotium Vasconiæ, quod et Scoti ex nimia causa proni essent ad recidivum[3] concordiæ, rescripsit se velle in pacem perpetuam libenter consentire, placuitque de communi consensu super tractanda apud Eboracum[4] partes convenire. Quo cum venissent, videlicet rex Angliæ ex parte una et quidam magnates Scotorum ex altera, petierunt Scoti Scotiam ab omni exactione regni Angliæ imperpetuum et immunem, et liberam petierunt jure adquisitionis et dominii totam terram quam perambulaverant usque ad portas Eboraci. Erat et quædam baronia in partibus Essexiæ quam Robertus de Brutz propter rebellionem dudum demeruit; hanc petiit Robertus sibi restitui, etiam cum fructibus quos medio tempore rex inde percepit. Petierunt etiam Scoti petram illam regalem sibi restitui quam Edwardus rex senior quondam de Scotia tulerat et apud Westmonasterium collocaverat juxta tumbam Sancti Edwardi. Erat autem lapis ille apud Scotos celebris memoriæ, eo quod super hunc reges Scotiæ

The Scots demand the freedom of Scotland and the marches. They demand the coronation stone.

[1] *offeratur*] offerratur, MS.
[2] *treugis*] tregis, MS.
[3] *recidivum*] recidunm, MS.

[4] The Scottish envoys had safe conduct for the conference at York, dated Nov. 3, 1324. Fœd ii. 578.

solebant gubernacula regni cum sceptro[1] recipere. Scota filia Pharaonis hanc petram secum a finibus Ægipti eduxit cum in parte Scotiæ applicuit et terram subjugavit. Prophetaverat enim Moises quod qui petram illam secum afferret amplas terras suo dominio subjugaret. Unde a Scota est dicta Scotia quæ prius ab Albanacto vocabatur Albania. Ad hæc in augmentum fœderis ac cumulum[2] pacis optulit Robertus de Brutz filiam suam matrimonialiter copulari filio regis. Postremo voluerunt Scoti quod, præsentibus quorum interest coram domino papa, a rege Franciæ confirmarentur vota procerum, ut fœdus pacis tali et tanta[3] auctoritate vallatum nullum solveretur in ævum.

A.D. 1324.

Mythology of the stone.

Bruce offers his daughter for the king's son.

The king of France to confirm the peace.

Auditis petitionibus Scotorum ait rex: "Scoti venerunt non ut nos pace[4] allicerent sed ut occasiones "dissensionis magis quærerent et sponte treugas infringerent. Revera præjudicialia nimis nobis exposcunt, unde et sine effectu ad propria remeabunt. "Quomodo enim sine præjudicio coronæ nostræ jus "quod habemus in Scotia possumus remittere, quæ "ab adventu Britonum usque adventum Saxonum et "deinceps usque ad tempus nostrum antecessoribus "nostris semper dinoscitur fuisse subjecta, quæ quamvis rebellando nostrum sæpius declinaret imperium, "ad jugum tamen debitum, licet invita, non ambigitur "fuisse reducta? Jus in marchia vendicare non "poterunt, cujus possessionem nunquam habuerunt. "Pedis enim positio privato possessionem tribuit, non "extraneo.[5] Quod si ob perambulationem marchiam "petant, consequens est ut et ipsi magnam partem "Scotiæ eadem ratione nobis concedant. Hereditatem "quam Robertus de Brutz petit, pater meus ei ob

Edward's answer to the Scottish proposals.

He cannot think of surrendering the rights of his crown.

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[1] *sceptro*] ceptro, MS.

[2] *ac cumulum*] ad tumultum, MS.

[3] *tali et tanta*] Tā in ta^u^m et tanta, MS.

[4] *pace*] pacem, MS.

[5] See the Digest, lib. xli. tit. 2. l. 1, and the glosses.

A.D. 1324. He refuses all the demands.

"manifestum delictum quondam abstulit, et non decet "filium irritare quod pater decrevit. Scimus etiam "quod pater meus devicta Scotia petram illam rega-"lem secum tulit in signum victoriæ: quod si resti-"tueremus videremur forsan jus sic acquisitum tan-"quam degeneres repudiare. Verumptamen super "petra reddenda dissensio brevis, si cetera non dis-"creparent a limine rationis. Nuptias etiam quas "offert Robertus ad præsens non admittimus, quo-"niam prout offeruntur[1] nobis indecentes esse per-"pendimus. Denique pacem quam Scoti coram domino "papa et rege Franciæ petunt confirmari, si contin-"geret eam debito fine concludi, coram quolibet prin-"cipe mundi vellemus explicari. Sed, quia præjudi-"cialia nimis nobis exposcunt, infecto negotio ad pro-"pria remeabunt."

The truce is to be respected, although the negotiations for a perpetual peace have failed.

Igitur responsum est Scotis formam oblatam regi non placere, nec regem in tantum artatum esse ut tam degenerem pacem cogatur inire. Conventionem tamen super treugis prius initam nichilominus censuit observandam, alioquin Scotis nunquam deinceps fidem adhibendam. Nuntii vero Scotorum, accepto responso, redeuntes retulerunt regi suo et hiis qui erant de consilio responsa regis Angliæ et conclusionem in fine. Inter quos tandem deliberatum est et communiter consensum. quod prædictæ treugæ cum Anglis initæ in suo robore starent, et religionem quam omnis natio et ætas conservat in nullo macularent. Nam et Israel[2] Gabaonitis servavit jusjurandum quamvis dolo in circumventione fuisset extortum. Joshua, ix.

The Scots agree.

Negotiations with France.

Dum durarent induciæ inter reges Anglorum et Francorum discurrebant nuntii et mediatores, hinc inde proponentes plures formas concordiæ; sed nulla placuit regi Franciæ nisi satisfactio sibi pro terra Vasconiæ. Videns igitur rex Angliæ quod per hujusmodi nuntios

[1] *offeruntur*] offerruntur, MS.
[2] *Nam et Israel*] Nau et Irael, MS.

nichil proficeret, disposuit mittere reginam si forsan ipsa negotium ad effectum perduceret. Nam sicut inter duos reges erat sanguine media, ita efficacior videbatur in pace procuranda. A.D. 1324. The king determines to send the queen.

Abiit regina valde gavisa, dupplici gaudio lætificata; gaudens quippe natale solum et parentes visitare, gaudens quorundam quos non diligebat comitivam[1] relinquere. Nimirum si Hugonem non diligat per quem avunculus ejus periit, per quem famulis orbata et omnibus redditibus suis privata remansit, iccirco a multis reversura non creditur donec Hugo Despenser a latere regis penitus separaretur.[2] A.D. 1325. Departure of the queen.

Veniens autem regina ad fratrem suum regem transmarinum, nichil plus aliis nuntiis optinuit, nisi quod rex frater ejus amore ipsius usque ad gulam Augusti treugas prorogavit. Cernens itaque rex Angliæ ex actis jam nichil aliud restare, nisi aut transfretare et regi Franciæ satisfacere, aut terram[3] Wasconiæ indefensam perdere, transacto jam Paschate collegit exercitum copiosum, videlicet linea armatura incinctos,[4] habentes arcus, secures aut gladios; singuli[5] arma singula in quibus se noverant magis expertos. Est enim aliquis aptus ad hæc, non ad illa; Saul ad gladium, Jonathas ad arcus, et David in fundam. Jussitque eos rex ad mare procedere cum ductoribus suis, ibidemque residere donec aliud haberent in mandatis. Convocavitque magnates regni sui Wyntoniam, disponere volens communi consilio negotium expeditionis suæ.[6] Her mission proving useless, the king collects an army. He sends his forces to the sea side and calls a council at Winchester.

Interim pedites petierunt vadia sua, sed non dabantur eis; quamobrem discurrebant per totam patriam spoliantes incolas victualibus suis. Mirabantur omnes quia non satisfaceret rex peditibus, cum rite vivere non Non-payment of wages.

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[1] *comitivam*] commitivam, MS.

[2] *separaretur*] seperaretur, MS.

[3] *terram*] terras, MS.

[4] *armatura incinctos*] armata iminctos, MS.

[5] *singuli*] singulos, MS.

[6] The king was at Winchester from the 1st to the 6th of May on which day the summons was issued for parliament on June 25.

A.D. 1325. May.

Extortions imputed to Hugh le Despenser.

possent sine vadiis, et satis habundaret thesaurus regis. Multi enim progenitores sui congregaverunt denarios, ipse solus supergressus est universos. Verumtamen imputatur Hugoni regis duritia sicut et alia mala quæ sunt in curia. Unde et multi in necem ejus conjuraverunt, sed machinatione detecta quidam eorum capti sunt, reliqui fugierunt.

Preparations for a naval expedition.

Tunc jussit rex omnes pedites naves ascendere et in fluctibus maris stationem facere, donec adveniret tempus transfretandi in terram Vasconiæ; præposuitque eis comitem de Warenna, Johannem de Sancto Johanne, et alios magnates terræ, qui similiter ingressi sunt naves non audentes resistere. Misit etiam rex litteras per singulos comitatus mandans et præcipiens omnes qui ab exercitu ad partes suas sine licentia rediissent capi, et statim sine interrogatione suspendi. Tantus siquidem rigor hodie crevit in rege, ut nullus quantumcunque magnus et consultus voluntati regis audeat obviare. Iccirco parliamenta, tractatus et consilia, hiis diebus de nullo decernunt.[1] Nam proceres regni, minis et pœnis aliorum interriti[2] voluntatem regis liberis habenis ambulare permittunt. Sic voluntas hodie vincit rationem. Nam quicquid regi placuerit, quamvis ratione careat, legis habet vigorem.[3]

Peremptory conduct of the king.

Henry of Lancaster accused of treason against the king.

Sub ista tempestate, dum rex moraretur Wyntoniæ, accusatus est Henricus de Lancastria comes de Leycestria, quod foveret inimicum regis episcopum Herfordiæ. Wyntoniensem et Lyncolniensem clementia regis in gratiam admisit. Herfordensis vero quia ceteris asperior gratiam invenire non potuit. Scripserat autem episcopus Herfordiæ Henrico de Lancastria comiti Leicestriæ supplicans quatinus apud regem pro eo verba faceret, ut eo citius gratiam regis ipsum promereri contingeret. Et quidem Henricus, prout erat benignus et

Correspondence with bishop Orleton.

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[1] *decernunt*] desernūt, MS.
[2] *interriti*] interiti, MS.

[3] The well known passage from the preface to the Institutes.

compatiens afflictis, hujusmodi verba fertur rescripsisse :—

A.D. 1325. May.

Letter of Henry of Lancaster to the bishop of Hereford.

"Salutem in omnium Salvatore et tam inflictionum patientiam quam in agone fortiter dimicare. Pater, utinam quæ pateris sustineas patienter; omnis enim cordis aut corporis afflictio præmio caret sine patientiæ adjuncto. Patientia reliquas virtutes roborat et exornat, nam vidua est virtus quam[1] patientia non firmat. Patientia vincit malitiam, et si qua virtus adjungitur ipsam facit esse perfectam. Porro si legitime contendere[2] speras legitime certa,[3] oportune inoportune insta, et fiducialiter[4] persevera. Nam et sacra scriptura testatur quod licet omnes virtutes currant ad bravium sola perseverantia coronatur. Spera in Deo et viriliter age, quoniam, si pro Deo ascendisti ex adverso, scito[5] quod non deseret in tempore malo. Deus et Dominus dominantium, cujus manu corda sunt regum, et qui procellam convertit in auram, prosperum statum tibi restituat et regis mitiget iram."

The king is offended by this correspondence, and because Henry bore his brother's arms, and founded a cross for his soul.

Hujuscemodi verbis consolatoriis usus est comes in litteris suis. Delatæ sunt litteræ ad aures regis. Quamobrem nitebatur rex arguere comitem proditionis. Adjectæ sunt et aliæ causæ, quod videlicet Henricus, ex gratia regis jam comes Leycestriæ, relictis armis propriis, deferret[6] arma fratris sui comitis Lancastriæ; quod visum est regalibus regis injuria, quasi dampnarentur pariter et arma. Et quia [crucem] erexerat extra villam Leicestriæ pro anima fratris sui comitis Lancastriæ; quod visum est regalibus in scandalum regis redundare, quasi dampnato corpore dampnaretur et titulus memoriæ.

Excuses made by Henry.

Respondit comes ad litteras, non debere ascribi ad proditionem verba consolatoria in quibus nichil machinatum esset in principem. Ad arma respondit dicens se non arma fratris sed patris potius acceptasse, quæ etiam jure successionis dixit ad se pertinere,

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[1] *quam*] quod, MS.

[2] *contendere*] Hearne suggests "coronari."

[3] *certa*] circa, MS.

[4] *fiducialiter*] fudicialiter, MS.

[5] *scito*] scuto, MS.

[6] *deferret*] defferret, MS.

A.D. 1325. May. His apology and defence.

maxime cum primogenitus frater ejus obiisset sine prole. Allegabat et comes non in scandalum regis crucem erectam, sed ob devotionem plebis pro animo fratris sui spiritualiter excitandam, et quidem pro fideli debet oratio bene fore licita, cum pro Judæis et hæreticis sancta frequenter oret ecclesia.

The king consults the nobles about an expedition in person.

Hiis tandem prætermissis interrogavit rex prælatos et proceres qui tunc convenerant, quidnam ipsi de transfretatione sua consulerent. Nolens autem Hugo Despenser filius, propter imminens periculum, quod aliquis transfretandi daret consilium, fertur coram aliquibus arroganter[1] dixisse: "Jam apparebit quis con-" sulet domino regi ad inimicos suos transfretare; " quoniam manifestus proditor est quicunque sit ille." Auditis ejus minis responderunt prælati cum proceribus ad consultationem domini regis dicentes: "Domine, " constat plures regni magnates absentes esse, unde " non expedit nobis in tam arduo negotio sine paribus " nostris respondere."

Hugh le Despenser opposes it.

Parliament called for June 25.

Tunc decretum est prælatos et regni magnates universos in crastino beati Johannis Baptistæ ad parliamentum Londoniis fore convocandos.[2] Sed et comes Leicestriæ accepit mandatis ad eundem diem venire finaliter responsurus[3] objectis.

June 25. Opinion of the lords in parliament, that the king should go

In crastino Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptistæ convenerunt Londoniis omnes prælati cum proceribus qui tunc erant infra regnum Angliæ, consultique super regis transfretatione responderunt, saltem hii quibus ceteri non valebant contradicere, oportere dominum regem omni modo transfretare, nec posse eos sine læsione conscientiæ et fidei in aliud consentire. Quod enim si rex non ierit,[4] rex Franciæ totam Vasconiam

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[1] *arroganter*] arrogater, MS.

[2] A council of barons was summoned for June 25; Parl. Writs, II. i. 328.

[3] *responsurus*] responsis, MS.

[4] *Quod enim si rex non ierit*] Quod n. si rex. n. ierit, MS. Hearne expands it "Quid nunc si " rex non ierit."

statim occupabit, et rex noster alias, vel forsan filius ejus cum ipsum regnare contigerit, proditionis et merito nos omnes accusabit.

A.D. 1325. June 25.

Hujusmodi responso[1] communiter prolato rex ad alios se convertit, et, amoto Exoniensi episcopo ab officio thesaurarii, archiepiscopum Eboracensem eidem substituit. Erat enim Exoniensis ultra modum cupidus, et durante officio suo vehementer dives effectus, unde videbatur tam regi quam populo terræ concussione[2] magis quam fideli commercio tanta copia viro provenisse. Iccirco amovit eum rex a potestate, ut, si contigisset eum aliquos læsisse, necesse haberet querelantibus respondere; et quidem bonum commune foret et consonum juri, ut tanta potestate prædicti annales fierent, ut qui tempore officii conveniri non possunt, saltem post annum judicio starent, et non diutina vexatione subjectos opprimerent. Eboracensis iste, Willelmus nomine, olim curialis in omni commisso fidelis exstitit, et, quamvis inter curiales diu conversatus, mores tamen a convictu non traxit, sed, obviata Anglorum cupiditate, per Dei gratiam impollutus[3] semper permansit. Sic Josep in Egipto, Clusi cum Absolon, et Daniel innocenter vixit Babilone.

The king appoints the archbishop of York treasurer in the place of the bishop of Exeter.

Honesty of the archbishop.

Audiens archipræsul Cantuariensis quod rex Eboracensem gazis suis vellet præponere, respondit nequaquam sic fieri posse sine præjudicio Cantuariensis ecclesiæ; crucem suam deferri[4] faceret quocunque rex diverteret per totam Angliam "quod quidem ego," inquit, "sana conscientia sustinere non possem. Mota "est enim illa inveterata dissensio super delationem[5] "crucis inter utramque ecclesiam, pro qua sanctus "Thomas certavit usque ad mortem; a cujus diebus "nullus archipræsul Eboracensis per Cantuariensem

The archbishop of Canterbury opposes the appointment.

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1 *responso*] responsio, MS.
2 *concussione*] concassiome, MS.
3 *impollutus*] impolutus, MS.
4 *deferri*] differri, MS.
5 *delationem*] dilationem, MS.

A.D. 1325. June 25.

The king persists in the appointment.

"provinciam hactenus crucem detulit, nisi forsan in "stipite elationis, aliquorum magnatum auxilio sufful-"tus, hoc præsumpserit, vel nunc saltem in parlia-"mentis, quod, ne per dissensionem privatorum im-"pediretur[1] utilitas communis, hoc permittendum "ratio persuasit." Parvipendebat rex allegata ab archipræsule, protestans se ob delationem crucis vel ob aliud cujuscunque privilegium necessarium ministrum nolle dimittere.

The earl of Leicester is not further molested.

Comes Leicestriæ in parliamento præsens affuit, sed de sibi prius objectis nichil audivit, et forsan eo quod ceteris illustrior, filio domini regis, fratre transfretante, regno præposito videbatur necessarius.[2] Nam licet Hugo Despenser, comes Wyntoniensis, cunctis prudentior et magis expertus tanto negotio foret præponendus, omnibus tamen incolis et ipsi filio regis habebatur exosus. Rex igitur juxta consilium magnatum transfretare disposuit, et jussit necessaria præparari. Displicuit rex Hugoni Despenser, tam patri quam filio; sciebant enim quod abeunte rege nescirent locum quo possent vivere tuti.

The king prepares to go abroad.

Death of the bishop of Norwich.

Circa idem tempus bonæ memoriæ Norwycensis[3] episcopus, pro negotiis regis ad transmarinas partes destinatus, in redeundo diem clausit extremum; statimque misit rex ad Norwicense capitulum volens eos eligere Robertum de Baldok cancellarium suum. Monachi vero non audentes regi displicere direxerunt vota sua in virum voluntatis regiæ. Erat autem tunc temporis quidam clericus Willelmus Ermyne dictus, vir prudens et circumspectus et, præcipue in hiis quæ tangunt cancellariam domini regis, efficax et expertus. Ipse unus ex hiis transfretaverat cum regina. Optinuit ut et rex Franciæ pariter et regina supplicarent domino papæ pro promotione sua. Dominus vero

Robert Baldock elected.

William Ayermin is a candidate.

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[1] *impediretur*] impederetur, MS.

[2] *necessarius*] necessariis, MS.

[3] *Norwycensis*] John Salmon, died July 6.

papa novit eum ex nomine, eo quod jam pridem electus in episcopum Karlionensis ecclesiæ cessit juri suo ad mandatum domini papæ. Unde tum propter bonum obedientiæ, tum[1] propter preces regis Franciæ et sororis suæ, consecravit eum dominus papa in episcopum Norwicensis ecclesiæ, et sic supplantatus est Robertus de Baldok en! altera vice. A.D. 1325. The pope appoints Ayermin.

Veniens itaque rex ad mare, et quasi paratus navem ascendere, nuntios regis Franciæ in ipso portu maris obvios habuit. Quælibet nova optata protinus accepit. Nam rex Franciæ, multis precibus et arduis negotiis regem Angliæ tangentibus allegatis inductus, hoc indulsit, ut, si rex Angliæ filium suum primogenitum transmitteret,[2] idem filius ad ducatum Vasconiæ eisdem conditionibus admitteretur, quibus et rex pater ejus si veniret. Placuit regi et regis consilio conferre filio Vasconiam, et statim puer ad jussum patris navigavit in Franciam. Admisit eum benigne avunculus ejus rex Franciæ. Admisit et homagium ipsius pro terra Vasconiæ, sed non permisit ei possessionem nisi pro parte. Decrevit enim rex Franciæ partem quam vi occupaverat non debere restitui, nisi satisfacto sibi pro sumptibus quos fecerat occasione homagii retardati. The king of France proposes that Edward shall give Gascony to his eldest son. This is done and he accepts his homage.

Exoniensis unus erat ex illis qui venerant cum filio. Curiales vero Francorum ipsum quasi alicujus sceleris notatum respiciebant præ ceteris. Ipse vero nichil sibi conscius vel ad vultus[3] eorum caute præmunitus, familiares suos ibidem relinquens qui præsentiam suam fingerent, clam fugam iniit, clam de nocte mutata veste usus duplomate ad mare devenit, et quasi mercator vel peregrinus navem conscendens in Angliam rediit; et ita si quid in eum machinatum exstitit, prudenter The bishop of Exeter returns to England in disguise.

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[1] *tum*] tamen, MS.
[2] *transmitteret*] transmittet, MS.
[3] *ad vultus*] adultus, MS.

A.D. 1325. Hatred felt in France against Edward's four favourite ministers.

evasit. Igitur si periculosa fuit ei legatio sua, videat ne videatur iterum in Francia. Quatuor sunt quippe personæ de majoribus Angliæ, Exoniensis episcopus nuper thesaurarius, Robertus de Baldoke nunc cancellarius, Hugo Despenser pater et filius, qui si reperirentur infra regnum Franciæ non carerent utique mala mansione. Asseritur enim quod de consilio Exoniensis prædia reginæ capta erant in manu domini regis, et ipsa destituta Francis familiaribus suis. Robertus de Baldoke fautor erat in nece procerum. Nimirum si exosus habeatur[1] parentibus eorum, quorum licet multi sunt in Anglia, quidam tamen eorum dominantur in Francia, et quidam valentes exulant, omnes autem et singuli tempus ultionis exspectant. Sed quicquid in aliis arguitur, Hugoni Despenser tam patri quam filio præ ceteris imputatur.

The king recalls the queen to England.

Inter alia, cum mitteret rex filium suum in Franciam, mandavit uxori suæ quod sine dilatione rediret in Angliam. Quo quidem mandato tam regi Franciæ quam ipsi reginæ per nuntios exposito, respondit regina, "Ego," inquit, "sentiens, quod matrimonium sit[2] "viri[3] et mulieris conjunctio, individuam vitæ con- "suetudinem[4] retinens, mediumque esse qui inter "maritum meum et me hujusmodi vinculum nititur "dividere; protestor me nolle redire donec auferatur "medius ille, sed, exuta veste nuptiali, viduitatis et "luctus vestes assumam donec de hujusmodi Pharisæo "viderim ultionem." Sed et rex Franciæ ne videretur eam detinere respondit: "Regina," inquit, "libere "venit, libere redeat si voluerit. Sin autem maluerit "in hiis partibus remanere, soror mea est, nolo eam "expellere." • Reversi sunt nuntii et narraverunt hæc omnia regi.

She refuses to return whilst Hugh le Despenser is in power.

Her brother countenances her.

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[1] *habeatur*] habebatur, MS.
[2] *sit*] sicut, Hearne.
[3] *viri*] vir, MS.
[4] *consuetudinem*] consuetudine, MS.

Tunc rex, convocatis apud Westmonasterium prælatis et proceribus terræ,[1] sic cœpit prius acta brevi sermone referre. "Nostis," inquit, "omnes dissensionem "et causas, inter regem Franciæ et nos pro terra "Wasconiæ dudum exortas, et quomodo satis provide, "ut tunc visum erat, pro formanda concordia regina "transfretavit, habuitque in mandatis facta legatione "sua statim rediisse. Quod et ipsa repromisit bona "voluntate. Nulli quoque in recessu suo videbatur "offensa. Licentiata enim omnes salutavit, et abiit "jocosa. Nunc autem nescio quis animum ejus immu"tavit; nescio quis in adventionibus ipsam instruxit. "Novi enim quod ex proprio capite nullam confinxit "offensam. Tamen se[2] dicit Hugonem Despenser ad"versarium et inimicum esse." Subjungit et hoc: "Mirum unde contra Hugonem rancorem conceperit, "quæ cum recederet nulli alii me excepto tam se jocun"dam exhibuit. Quamobrem Hugo tristis effectus est "valde; verumtamen innocentiam suam paratus est "quomodolibet ostendere. Unde constanter credo re"ginam in hujusmodi errorem ad suggestionem alicu"jus inductam esse, et revera malignus et inimicus "est homo quicunque sit ille. Nunc igitur sapienter "consulite, ut quam doctrina malorum in versutiam "instruit et instigat, vestra prudens et blanda cor"reptio[3] ad debitam unitatem invitet[4] et reducat." Tunc de consilio regis ordinatum est quod omnes episcopi reginæ scriberent, et singulas litteras sub eodem tenore verborum eidem destinarent, quibus eam tanquam filiam carissimam ad virum suum redire moverent, rancorem sine causa conceptum dimittere, et Hugonem Despenser pariter excusarent. Singularum vero litterarum communis et unus tenor talis erat:—

A.D. 1325. November. Parliament.

The king explains his difficulties.

He cannot understand the queen's hatred of Hugh.

He hints his suspicions, and asks mediation.

The bishops are directed to write to her.

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[1] A parliament was held at Westminster on the 18th of November, which sat until Dec. 5; Parl. Writs, II. i. 334, 346.

[2] *Tamen se*] Hearne suggests "Tametsi," or "tamen sibi."

[3] *correptio*] coreptio. MS.

[4] *invitet*] mitem, MS.

A.D. 1325. November. Letter of the bishops to the queen, urging her to lay aside her hatred, and not to involve the country in war.

"Carissima et præpotens domina mea, de novis et responsis " tuis ad dominum nostrum regem a te nuper transmissis, tur" batur tota patria; et ex eo quod in odium Hugonis De" spenser differs reditum tuum, multa mala præsagiunt omnes " in futurum. Porro Hugo Despenser coram omnibus inno" centiam suam solempniter ostendit, et se reginæ nunquam " nocuisse, sed omne commodum ejus pro posse procurasse, et " hoc semper inposterum se facturum fore corporali sacramento " firmavit. Addidit quoque se non posse credere hujusmodi " minas ex solo capite tuo[1] unquam prodiisse, sed aliunde " forsan procuratas esse, maxime cum ante recessum tuum[2] " et in ipso recessu hillarem sibi faciem ostenderis, et litteras " amicabiles postea ei transmiseris, quas in pleno parliamento " in argumentum fidei protulit coram multis. Quamobrem, " carissima, rogo te tanquam dominam; moneo te tanquam " filiam, quatinus ad dominum nostrum regem, virum tuum, " redeas, rancorem dimittas, et quæ pro bono pacis abieras[3] " pro bona pace redire non differas.[4] Timent enim habita" tores terræ nostræ, eo quod redire negasti, multa mala con" tingere. Timent alienigenarum adventum et deprædа" tionem bonorum suorum; nec reputant ex debita affectione " provenire, odio unius hominis, populum tam tibi devotum " velle destruere. Quod autem scripsistis, ea quæ frater tuus " rex Franciæ et alii amici tui ejusdem patriæ pro voto suo " facere intendunt, non in præjudicium domini regis nec ali" cujus alterius, sed in exterminium solius Hugonis redunda" bunt:—Carissima et potentissima domina, noli tali negotio " initium præbere, cujus progressus dampnum irrecuperabile " verisimiliter posset afferre. Præsagit enim populus Angli" canus ex hujusmodi minis adventum alienorum, et dicit, si " Franci veniant terram utique spoliabunt. Impossibile quin[5] " tam insontes quam sontes communiter dampna sustineant, " et quæ non rapuerunt innoxii tunc exsolvent. Heu quam " sperabamus habuisse et patronam, si sic eveniant, continget " nos, proh dolor! sentire novercam. Heu! querula voce clerus " et populus frequenter ingeminat, timentes ne odio unius " hominis se et sua penitus exterminari contingat. Quo" circa, domina regina, utere sano consilio, et ad maritum

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[1] *tuo*] suo, MS.
[2] *tuum*] suum, MS.
[3] *abieras*] adhibeas, MS.
[4] *differas*] disperas, MS.
[5] *quin*] qui, MS.

"tuum redire non differas. Nam desideratus adventus tuus "malitias hominum refrænabit et occasiones mali sedabit "universas." A.D. 1325.

Sed mater et filius hujusmodi litteris non obstantibus ad Angliam redire noluerunt. Unde rex, de consilio duorum Dispensatorum, exlegavit et banniavit publice in foro Londoniensi uxorem suam et filium tanquam regni proditores.[1] A.D. 1326. The queen outlawed.

Hoc anno [2] regina Angliæ, cum primogenito suo Edwardo ac Rogero de Mortuomari nuper elapso, necnon et cum parva manu Hunaldorum, circa festum Sancti Michaelis in Essexiam in Anglia applicuit, versus Londonias ubi rex erat tetendit, et, quod mirandum fuit, terra undique tranquilla, sine sanguinis strepitu regem a Londoniis mature fugitantem usque in Westwalliam pedetentim insequuntur. September. The queen lands in Essex; the king flies to Wales.

Interim in crastino Sancti Kalixti papæ decollatus [3] est episcopus Exoniensis thesaurarius regis per Londonienses extra hostium boriale Sancti Pauli. In die sequenti capta est turris Londoniarum per cives ad opus reginæ et filii sui. Et cito post in vigilia apostolorum Symonis et Judæ captum est castrum Bristolliæ per reginam et suos, ubi Hugo Despenser senior distractus et suspensus est, et caput ejus Wyntoniam transmissum est. Bishop Stapleton murdered. The elder Hugh beheaded.

Eodem anno die Sancti Hugonis comes Arundelliæ apud partes Salopiæ captus est, sed apud Herford decollatus.[3] Eadem ebdomada rex Angliæ captus apud Neythe in Westwallia, sed apud castrum de Kenilworthe custodiendum demandatur. Junior autem Despenser Hugo qui cum rege captus fuerat distractus ac decollatus [4] et suspensus est apud Herford, corpore ejus quadripertito, sed caput ejus ad pontem Londoniarum transmissum est.[5] The earl of Arundel beheaded. The king taken. The younger Hugh beheaded.

Quo etiam anno [6] in octavis Epiphaniæ factum est parliamentum apud Londonias, ubi de communi ordinatione missi sunt solempnes nuntii ad regem incarceratum, scilicet tres A.D. 1327. Parliament.

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[1] *Unde . . . proditores*] Knighton, c. 2543, from Higden, lib. vii. c 42.

[2] *Hoc anno*] From this point most of the matter in the text is in common with Higden, and probably extracted from the Polychronicon.

[3] *decollatus*] decolatus, MS.

[4] *decollatus*] decolatus, MS.

[5] *Hoc anno . . . transmissum est*] Knighton, c. 2545, from Higden, lib. vii. c. 43.

[6] *Quo etiam anno*] This section also in Knighton, c. 2549, from Higden, lib. vii. c. 43.

A.D. 1327. January. The king's allegiance renounced.

episcopi, duo comites, duo barones, duo abbates, duo justitiarii, ut regi detento homagium quondam sibi factum resignarent, ipsumque pro domino ulterius non haberent. De quibus dominus Willelmus Trussel miles, et procurator totius parliamenti, vice omnium dixit regi hujusmodi verba: "Ego Wil-
" lelmus Trussel, vice omnium de terra Angliæ et totius par-
" liamenti procurator, tibi Edwardo reddo homagium prius
" tibi factum, et ex tunc [1] diffido te, et privo te omni potestate
" regia et dignitate, nequaquam tibi de cetero tanquam regi
" pariturus." Istud fuit proclamatum publice apud Londonias.

Edward III. knighted and crowned.

Eodem anno, in vigilia Purificationis beatæ Mariæ, Edwardus filius ejus factus est miles. Deinde ipse factus adolescens xv. annorum, adhuc patre suo vivente sub custodia, coronatus est in festo Purificationis beatæ Mariæ in regem apud Westmonasterium. In cujus primordiis grata augebantur [2] auspicia; nam et tunc terra recepit ubertatem, aer temperiem, mare tranquillitatem, ecclesia libertatem.[3]

Death of Edward II.

[MCCCXXVII.] Et tertio nonas Aprilis translatus est rex antiquus de Kenylworthe usque castrum de Berkeley, ubi, licet multi conspirarent ad ejus liberationem, mortuus est: de cujus meritis an inter sanctos numerandus sit frequens in vulgo, sicut quondam de Thoma comite Lancastriæ, adhuc disceptatio [4] est; sed revera nec carceris inclusio nec etiam oblationum frequentia aut miraculorum simulacra,[5] cum talia sint indifferentia, quemquam sanctum probant nisi conresponderet sanctimonia vitæ præcedentis. Bene namque cum unoquoque agitur si talia cum contritione culpam in eo diluant,[6] aut pœnam debitam imminuant, quamvis immediate avolationem non efficiant. Sed præsumptio flagitiosorum [7] impunitatem sibi et suis similibus inaniter sperantium, ambitioque matronarum circumgirare affectantium, rumorem talis venerationis multum amplificat et dilatat, donec ædificatio super arenam fundata decidat et labescat.[8]

Question of his sanctity.

Doubtful character of such speculations.

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[1] *ex tunc*] exnunc, H.

[2] *augebantur*] suggebantur, MS.; suggerebantur, Hearne.

[3] *Eodem anno . . . . libertatem*] Knighton, c. 2550, from Higden, vii. 43.

[4] *disceptatio*] deceptatio, MS.

[5] *simulacra*] similacra, MS.

[6] *diluant*] dilluant, MS.

[7] *flagitiosorum*] flagisiorum, MS.

[8] *Et tertio . . . labescat*] Knighton, c. 2551; from Higden, vii. c. 44.

[MCCCXXX.] In parliamento apud Wyntoniam decollatus[1] est Edmundus de Wodestoke avunculus hujus regis, comes Cantiæ, pro eo quod conspiravit ad liberationem fratris sui regis mortui, ut dicebatur.[2] Natus est novo regi Edwardo primogenitus suus Edwardus ex regina sua filia comitis Hunaldiæ xviii° kalendas Junii. Eoque anno in crastino Sancti Lucæ captus est apud Notyngham Rogerus de Mortuomari tunc comes Marchiæ vocatus, indeque Londonias missus judicio parliamenti tractus et suspensus est in vigilia Sancti Andreæ.

A.D. 1330. The earl of Kent beheaded.

Fall of Mortimer.

[MCCCXXXII.] Edwardus le Boilliol, quondam regis Scotiæ proximus heres, cum modica manu Anglorum, id est duobus vix milibus, intravit Scotiam ut regnum sibi recuperaret, circa Ad vincula Sancti Petri, et occidit LX. milia Scotorum apud Glodesmore.

A.D. 1332. Edward Balliol's expedition to Scotland.

[MCCCXXXIII.] Venit rex Angliæ in auxilium ejus et obsedit Berewycum iiii^to idus Julii, cui miles quidam Scotus, Willelmus de Keth, promisit quod ad certum nominatum diem adduceret exercitum Scotorum ad pugnandum cum eo, et ad obsidionem illam removendam; quod nisi faceret urbs Berewycy sibi redderetur. Interim Scoti subdole combusserunt in partibus Northumbranis, et obsederunt castrum de Bamburghe, ubi regina Angliæ tunc morabatur, si sic forsan obsidionem Berewycy solvere possent. Tandem die præfixa, hora nona, pelago pleno, advenerunt Scoti contra Anglos in tribus aciebus, omnes pedites distincti, xiiii° kalendas Augusti prope Berewicum, in loco qui dicitur Bothulle juxta Halidoun: qui oppressi sunt a sagittariis Angliæ et insecuti ab equitibus Angliæ usque ad noctem, ita quod ceciderunt de Scotis octo comites cum mille CCC. equitibus et de plebeis xxxv. milibus: quo viso oppidani reddiderunt Berewicum regi Angliæ. Et quod mirabile est dictu non ceciderunt ex parte Anglorum nisi unus miles, unus armiger, et xii. pedites.[3]

A.D. 1333. Edward besieges Berwick.

Battle of Halydown Hill.

[MCCCXXXIIII.] In festo Sanctorum Gervasii et Prothasii Edwardus le Boilliol verus rex Scotiæ fecit homagium Edwardo regi Angliæ pro regno Scotiæ apud Novum Castrum super Tinam, in præsentia trium episcoporum, baronum ac comitum et copiosæ plebis. Et cito post Scoti rebellarunt: quamobrem rex Angliæ sub gelida yeme Galwodiam intrans totam patriam usque ad mare Scoticum devastavit, castrum de Rokesburghe reparavit, ubi se et suos per totam yemem tutavit,[4] deinde

A.D. 1334. Edward Balliol does homage.

A.D. 1335. Invasion of Scotland.

[1] *decollatus*] decolatus, MS.

[2] *In parliamento . . . dicebatur*] Knighton, c. 2551.

[3] *Natus . . . pedites*] Knighton, c. 2559; Higden, vii. 44.

[4] *In festo . . . tutavit*] Knighton c. 2559; Higden, vii. 44.

A.D. 1337. Creation of the duke of Cornwall.

circa festum beati Gregorii in Quadragesima [MCCCXXXVII.] rex Edwardus in pleno parliamento Londoniis de comitatu Cornubiæ fecit ducatum, quem contulit Edwardo primogenito suo, una cum comitatu Cestriæ. Ordinavit etiam ibidem quinque comites, unum ad Derbiam, alium ad Northamptoniam, tertium ad Huntyngdoniam, quartum ad Saresburiam, quintum ad Gloucestriam.[1]

A.D. 1338. Quarrel with France.

[MCCCXXXVIII.] Orta est grandis discordia inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ, ex eo quod rex Franciæ multas terras et oppida in Wasconia improbe usurpaverat; qua de causa rex Angliæ plures oblationes humiles fecerat regi Franciæ, sed sic terras suas recuperare non posset; sed cum sic nihil proficeret, collectis undique pecuniis mare transire disposuit. Circa festum beatæ Margaretæ virginis rex Edwardus transiit in Flandriam; inde Coloniam adiit, ubi imperatorem Bavarrum sibi conciliavit, Brabannos et Flandrenses sibi fœderavit, de quorum consilio arma Franciæ cum armis suis immiscuit, boriales partes Franciæ usque ad Turnacum incendit et vastavit.[2]

A.D. 1339. Grant of wool and corn for the expenses of the war.

[MCCCXXXIX.] Circa festum Purificationis beatæ Mariæ Edwardus Angliam rediit, uxorem tamen suam cum liberis, in ea parte progenitis, apud Andwarpiam in Selandiam dimisit, quasi in assecurationem reditus sui; celebratoque apud Londonias parliamento, atque negotiis dispositis, indixit Angligenis tributum quintæ partis bonorum, lanas ovium occupavit, nonamque garbam de omni gleba Angliæ suis expeditionibus deputavit; de quarum proventu dominos villarum vicinarum respondere fecit. Hoc etiam anno tanta fuit rerum copia et æris inopia quod quarterium frumenti Londoniis ad ii^{os} solidos venderetur, et bos pinguis ad dimidium marcæ.[3]

A.D. 1340. June. Battle of Sluys.

[MCCCXL.] Rex Edwardus in vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistæ cum ducentis navibus mare ingressus est versus Flandriam, sed juxta maritima Flandriæ, juxta les Sclusse, classem Francorum copiosam et instructam obviam habuit; qua de causa per totam illam diem cum suis deliberans, in

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[1] *circa festum . . . Gloucestriam*] Knighton, c. 2568; Higden, vii. 44.

[2] *Orta . . . vastavit*] Knighton, c. 2569; Higden, vii. 44; Cont. Ad. Murimuth (ed. Hog.), p. 171.

[3] *Circa . . . marcæ*] Knighton, c. 2569. Here the 7th book of the Polychronicon ends; and the following notes are from a Continuator. The passage that comes next, *Rex . . . . occupatis*, occurs in the Eulogium (ed. Haydon, iii. 205); in the Continuation of Adam of Murimuth, p. 172.

crastino superveniente in ejus auxilium valente milite Roberto de Morleya cum boriali classe Angliæ, commissum est navale bellum fortissimum quale circa oras Angliæ nusquam est visum; ubi Deo favente Franci et Normanni acriter sagittati per Anglos sunt devicti, partim submersi, partim capti, navibusque eorum, exceptis paucis quæ aufugerant,[1] totaliter occupatis. A.D. 1340. June 24. Great victory.

[2] Inde rex Edwardus Flandriam attingens, adunato exercitu copioso borialem partem Franciæ vastavit, urbem munitissimam Tornacum diu obsedit, sed ob defectum pecuniæ quam sui segnes procuratores ab Anglia non miserant, contractis treugis et induciis inter reges utriusque discussum est. Siege of Tournay. Rex Edwardus cum navigio suo adiit Britanniam Minorem, ubi per cibos et potus inconvenientes plures de suis amisit. A.D. 1342. Expedition to Brittany. Missi sunt tamen ad eum duo cardinales qui ex parte papæ treugas triennales inter reges indixerunt, sub quo spatio de jure quod rex Angliæ vendicavit ad regnum Franciæ, ad plenum discuti possit. A.D. 1343. Truce for three years. In redeundo quoque de Britannia rex Edwardus maxima dampna et incommoda per maritimam tempestatem perpessus est, quæ utique per nigromanticos regis Franciæ dicebantur procurari. Denique ipse rex Edwardus propter provisiones de dignitatibus et beneficiis ecclesiasticis, quas papa Clemens fecit in Anglia, offensus, sub anno gratiæ millesimo CCCXLIIII^o^ provisiones per papam factas cassavit, et ne quis deinceps hujusmodi provisiones in Angliam inferret[3] sub pœna carceris et capitis interdixit. A.D. 1344. Papal provisions forbidden.

In festo Translationis beati Thomæ martyris rex Edwardus ingressus mare, ignorantibus omnibus suis quorsum tenderet, sed tandem ductu cujusdam militis de Harecourt nuper de Francio exlegati, in australi parte Normanniæ apud Hogges juxta Sequanem flumen applicuit, Cadamum et alias urbes spoliavit; unde et sui plurimi sunt ditati. A.D. 1346. The king lands in Normandy. Verum, quia rex Franciæ Philippus pontes fluminum confregerat, ne exercitus adinvicem confligere possent, rex Edwardus Normanniam transeundo deprædavit, et tandem Sancti Rufi die martiris, quod est pridie festum Sancti Augustini doctoris, regem Franciæ apud Crescy in Picardia gloriose devicit, et regem Boemyæ interfecit, ducem Lotheryngiæ, duos episcopos, octo Aug. 26. Battle of Crecy.

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[1] *aufugerant*] affugeraut, MS.

[2] The following passages are also in nearly the same words, in the Eulogium, iii. 205, 206; Cont. Ad. Murimuth, pp. 172, 173.

[3] *inferret*] auferret, MS.; afferret, H.

A.D. 1346. Aug. 26. Battle of Crecy.

comites, plures nobiles dominos, duo millia[1] militum ac vulgus innumerabile cecidit, reliquam plebem dispersit et fugavit. Extunc quoque in obsidione urbis Calesiæ, ab olim Anglis infestæ, per annum et eo amplius demoratus est rex Angliæ.

Oct. 17. Battle of Neville's Cross.

Eodem anno in crastino Sancti Michaelis in Monte Tumba contriti sunt Scoti per Anglos, et potissime per clerum Eboracensis diocesis tam regularem quam sæcularem; qui per instigationem regis Franciæ in Angliam usque Dunelmum processerunt; ubi captus est David le Brutz rex Scotiæ, Willelmus Douglas, et quidam alii magni, ceteris occisis, fugatis aut dispersis.

A.D. 1347. August. Calais surrendered.

Circa festum Sancti Bartholomæi Philippus rex Franciæ, qui se quasi ad pungnandum paraverat, et præcipue ad dissolvendam obsidionem urbis Calesiæ propius accesserat, diluculo clam aufugit[2] relictis tentoriis cum victualibus plurimis. Quo viso Calesienses villam illam reddiderunt regi Edwardo, quam per mensem disponens circa festum Sancti Michaelis rediit, concessis ad instantiam domini papæ novem mensium treugis; sed in redeundo, sicut quondam de Britannia Minori rediens, maximam tempestatem in mari, qua plures probos milites amisit, perpessus est. Unde et ipse rex Edwardus in talem admirativam querimoniam prolapsus est. "O bona "domina mea Maria! quid est et quid protendit quod ten-"dendo versus Franciam aura grata potior, mare arridet, et "cuncta michi eveniunt prospere, sed in redeundo versus "Angliam infortunia nimis adversa perpetior?"

Truce concluded.

The king escapes shipwreck.

A.D. 1348. Great rains.

[MCCCXLVIII.] Hoc anno inundavit pluvia nimia, a festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ usque ad Natale Domini proxime sequens, ut vix transiret dies quin plueret in die vel in nocte; sub quo temporis decursu magna mortalitas hominum grassata[3] est per orbem, ab australibus et orientalibus plagis incipiens, ut vix media pars hominum remaneret.[4]

Beginning of the plague.

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[1] *millia*] om. MS.

[2] *aufugit*] affugit, MS.

[3] *grassata*] crassata, MS.

[4] *remaneret*] remanentis, MS.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.

VITA ET MORS EDWARDI SECUNDI REGIS ANGLIÆ CONSCRIPTA A THOMA DE LA MOORE EQUITE AURATO.

VITA ET MORS EDWARDI SECUNDI REGIS ANGLIÆ CONSCRIPTA A GENEROSISSIMO MILITE THOMA DE LA MOORE.[1]

Baker, p. 49. Anno Domini MCCCVII°, Edwardo de Winchester rege Angliæ mortuo, successit filius Edwardus de Carnarvan. Qui statim in Galliam trajecit, ut sibi conciliaret animum regis Philippi le bel, cujus filiam Isabellam in uxorem duxit Boloniæ, quinto kalendas Februarii, mira cum celebritate. (p. 50.) Deinde rege quinto Februarii in Angliam reverso, vii° kalendas Martii Isabella coronata est Westmonasterii. Cum rex in Gallia esset, accessit ad eum Petrus de Gaveston, ei antiqua familiaritate notus, et ea gratia a patre suo exul factus; quem is secum in Angliam reduxit, atque ei dedit comitatum Cornubiæ una cum sororis suæ filia, videlicet Johannæ de Acris, comitissæ Gloverniæ, in uxorem. Erat hic Petrus Italus[2] natione, corpore elegans, ingenio acer, moribus curiosus, in re militari satis exercitatus. Cujus argumentum,[3] cum is in Scotia militiæ præsideret, Scotos valde terruit et a prædis et aliis vesaniis repressit. Quo per invidiam eorum, qui felices ejus progressus haud libenter viderunt, revocato, invaluit iterum Scotorum versutia. Reginæ coronationi interfuerunt Carolus de Valois, frater regis Franciæ, et pater Philippi primi intrusoris, et dux Britanniæ, Henricus comes Lucenburghe, postea Imperator. Sed cultu facile omnes excelluit et ornamentis Petrus. Quare plurimum auxit in se magnatum invidiam.

A.D. 1307. Succession of Edward II.

A.D. 1308. His marriage.

Promotion of Gaveston.

His character and advantages.

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[1] From Camden's Edition, collated with MSS. Cotton Vitellius E. 5 and Harleian, 310, and the Bodleian MS. 761.

[2] *Italus*] The word which would have described Gaveston's nationality is altogether omitted in the Bodleian MS. of Baker, Bodl. 761.

[3] *argumentum*] probably the right word was magnanimitas. See Baker, p. 50.

A.D. 1309. Gaveston sent to Ireland; his return.

Anno M°CCC°IX°. Rex, quo deliniret[1] animos nobilium in Petrum, eum in Hiberniam transmisit cum satis magna manu adversus Hibernos rebelles. Stipendium ex ærario suo assignavit[2] solvendum. Is prospere primo progressus est, sed, fortuna statim mutata, nondum transacto anno, in Angliam rediit ad regis contubernium. Jam exarserunt in eum manifesta odia, variis signis expressa, nonnullorum, qui putarunt se gratum opus Deo facturos, si Petrum e medio tollerent aut vita aut patria[3] privarent. Rex igitur, ut eum a magnatum insidiis servaret, eum castro Bamburgi inclusit: se id fecisse asserens, ut eorum animos placaret. At hoc satis non est illis visum, quin etiam rex piissimus ejus causa non paucas contumelias passus est. Anno igitur M°CCC°XI°, circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, a Bamburgo revocatum, custodiæ commisit Audomari de Valentia comitis Penbrochiæ, quem prius sacrosanctum sacramentum, astantem in præsentia, jurare coegit, quod ipsum indemnem, quoad posset, contra omnes hostes suos tueretur, ad certum usque tempus, quo eum reliquis proceribus reconciliare proposuerit. At vero Audomari superavit invidia fidem et voluntas placendi reliquis sui ordinis. Duxit eum ad manerium Dathington, quod est inter Oxoniam et Warwick, locum neque tutum nec munitum, nec secretum, quo eum tueri posset adversus comitem Warwici. Nocte sequenti recessit Audomarus, atque postridie mane accessit comes Warwici Guido cum hominum mediocri manu, et eum cepit, secum ad castrum Warwici abduxit. Habita itaque deliberatione inter se, Thomas Lancastriæ, Warwici et Herefordiæ comites, in eorum conspectu in loco qui dicitur Blaklawe[4] xix° Januarii[5] capite truncari curarunt. Corpus autem in ecclesia fratrum Prædicatorum de Langley rex honorifice sepeliri jussit. Hoc anno papa Clemens consilium tenuit Viennæ,[6] quod duravit a primo Octobris usque ad Pentecostem. In quo præsente Philippo Belle rege Francorum, condemnati sunt Templarii, procurante hoc ipso rege, quia is magistrum ordinis exosum habuit, propter importunam

Baker, p. 51.

A.D. 1312. Capture and death of Gaveston.

p. 52.

His burial.

Condemnation of the Templars.

p. 53.

[1] *deliniret*] delineret, Ed. and MSS.

[2] *assignavit*] E sacrario, ins. MS. Harl.

[3] *aut . . . patria*] atque vita, Ed.; vita vel regni incolatu, Baker.

[4] *Blaklawe*] Gaversiche, MS. Harl. and Baker.

[5] *Januarii*] It should be *Junii*; but Januarii is the reading of Baker's MS., of the other MSS., and of Camden's edition.

[6] *Viennæ*] Vicennæ, Ed. and MSS.

Baker, p. 53 pecuniæ exactionem quam in nuptias filiæ suæ Isabellæ ei mutuo dederat. Inhiabat præterea prædiis militum et possessionibus; unde magistrum ordinis cum aliis multis Parisiis comburendum curavit. At vero quod proposuerat non obtinuit, nam papa ejectorum terras et possessiones Hospitalariis assignavit; pro quibus in eorum manus tradendis misit in Angliam papa cardinalem quendam comitatum episcopo Albanensi. At vero magnates Angliæ, quorum majores Templarios prædiis ditaverant, papæ in hoc restiterunt, atque, ordine jam condemnato, majorum suorum donatas possessiones ipsi repetitas occupaverunt. Papæ itaque nuntii infecto negotio reversi sunt.

A.D. 1312.

Treatment of their property.

Anno MºCCCºXIIº, die Sancti Brissii, Windesoriæ natus est regi Edwardus, tertius postea vocatus, magnificus Gallorum triumphator, Scotorum dominator, etc. Rex mortem Petri fidelissimi quondam amici deplorare non cessavit. Cujus interitus eum in multos infestum reddidit, quos ad se consiliaque sua vocare dedignabatur. Cum igitur internis solatiis intenderet, Robertus de Brus omnia fere in Scotia amissa recuperavit. Castra et munitiones, ejectis Anglicis præsidiis, in suam potestatem recepit. Anno igitur sequenti, prælatorum consensu et aliorum quorundam, Hugo Despenser filius constitutus est regis camerarius loco Petri de Gaveston; quem eo libentius in hunc locum promoverunt, quia eum regi exosum cognoverunt. At vero is prudentia et obsequio haud multo post, dirempto regis animo, eum in sui amorem facile commutavit, unde et illi odio eum vel maximo prosequuti sunt. Hujus Hugonis pater senex adhuc superstes erat magnæ probitatis miles, consilio providus, armis strenuus, cujus confusionem et ignominiosum finem accumulavit amor naturalis sed disordinatus erga filium suum, corpore formosissimum, spiritu superbissimum, actu flagitiosissimum; quem spiritus ambitionis et cupiditatis ad viduarum et orphanorum exheredationem, in necem nobilium, regis præcipitium, et sui atque patris interitum præcipitavit.

Birth of Edward III.

p. 54.

Hugh le Despenser chamberlain.

His influence with the king.

p. 55. Anno MºCCCºXIIIº, rex, injuriis regis Brusii instigatus, vires prope Strivelin adunavit. Nunquam magis splendidus, nobilis aut superbus exercitus Anglorum visus, ut affirmat pauper ille Carmelita frater R. Baston in suis heroicis de illo bello, quod ipse præsens, a Scotis captus, deplanxit. Vidisses prima nocte Anglos haud Angelico[1] more vino madentes,
p. 56. crapulam eructantes, "Wassaile" et "Drinkehaile" plus solito

A.D. 1314.

Expedition against the Scots.

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[1] *Angelico*] Anglico, Ed. and MSS.; Angelorum, Baker.

A.D. 1314. June 24. Battle of Bannockburn.

intonantes. E contra Scotos silentes sanctam vigiliam, erat enim vigilia Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, jejunio celebrantes, amore patriæ et libertatis æstuantes. In crastino Scoti, campi locum nacti victoribus opportunum, suffodiebant ad mensuram trium pedum in profundum, et in eandem latitudinem, fossas longas a dextra in sinistram, operientes illas plexis fragilibus ex virgultis et viminibus "hordelles," cespite et herbis superstratis, peditibus quidem prius consciis cautelæ sufficientes, sed equitum pondera non valentes sufferre. Exercitus Scotorum non longe ab hac fossa constitit in turmas divisus, in acies solidissimas distributus. Ab occidente vero e contra Anglus refulsit; sol oriens[1] in scuta aurea et galeas splendentes radios emisit; oportuit autem ut expectassent potius meridiem ad confligendum cum solem habuissent dextrum. In prima acie fuerunt equites, in secunda pedites et sagittarii, in tertia rex ipse cum episcopis et aliis religiosis, et inter ipsos vecors milvus Hugo Le Spenser. Equites in hostes moti, præcipites in fossam ceciderunt, quibus adfuerant hostes mactantes, capientes, divitibusque solis, magno pretio redimendis, parcentes. Ibi occubuit Gilbertus comes Glocestriæ, quem Scoti libenter ad redemptionem servassent, si cognovissent; at vero is togam propriæ armaturæ eo die induere neglexerat. Ceciderunt cum eo Edmundus Maulee, Robertus de Clifford, Paganus Tiptoft, Egidius D'Argentine, et multi alii ordinis militaris. Capti sunt et redemptioni servati Humfridus de Bohun comes Herefordiæ, Johannes de Segrave, Johannes de Clavering, Gulielmus le Latimer, et fere trecenti viri militares. Multos autem occiderunt nostri sagittarii, qui, cum Scotos in fossas directos irruere aspexissent, sagittis in eos directis, non Scotos a pectore armatos, sed nostros a tergore nudos trajecerunt. Rex cum episcopis et Hugone fugam capessivit. Hic non equi velocitas, non hominum industria, regem ab inimicis liberavit, sed Mater Dei quam rex invocavit. Cui rex et Filio suo vovit, si salvus evasisset se erecturum pauperibus ejus Carmelitis mansionem in Matris Dei titulo insignitam pro viginti quatuor fratribus, theologiæ studio deputatis, quod et postea fecit Oxonii, et expensis ditavit, dissuadente Spensero.

Baker, p. 56. — p. 57. — p. 58.

Slain and prisoners. — Escape of the king. — His vow of a foundation at Oxford.

A.D. 1315. Scottish invasion of Ireland.

Anno M°CCC°XV° Scoti, sub ducatu Edwardi le Bruis, qui se regem Hiberniæ nominari jussit, Hiberniam invaserant,

[1] "ex adverso progredientis ab occidente exercitus Anglorum re-"fulsit sol oriens," Baker.

Baker, p. 58. domino Johanne Birmingham [1] tunc ibi justitiario. Cujus virtute fusi fugatique sunt et plurimi interfecti. Incruduit eodem tempore in Anglia sævissima pestis et fames: quarterium frumenti vendebatur pro quadraginta solidis sterlingorum. A.D. 1315. Famine and plague. p. 59.

Anno MºCCCºXVIº venerunt in Angliam duo cardinales, ut inter Angliam et Scotiam pacem componerent; qui in itinere versus Scotiam in agro Dunelmensi deprædati sunt a Gilberto de Midelton milite, qui postea ea de gratia suspensus est, et in quarterium divisus. Robertus de Bruis nuntios spirituales [2] Scotiam ingredi noluit permittere; quamobrem cardinales eum excommunicaverunt, et regem Scotiæ interdicto supposuerunt. Reversi autem cardinales ad curiam pro ablatis a prædonibus duplicia receperant a rege et proceribus sponte collata. A.D. 1316. The cardinals robbed. Interdict in Scotland.

Anno MºCCCºXVIIº Robertus le Brus castrum et villam Berwicke viriliter acquisivit, neminem occidendo, qui voluit obedire. In Augusto rex et comes Lancastriæ in quadam planitie prope Leicestriam sunt concordati, et se mutuo amplexati et osculati sunt. A.D. 1317. Berwick taken.

Anno MºCCCºXVIIIº. In autumno rege transequitante magno cum exercitu partem Scotiæ, et ad obsidionem Berwici se disponente, Scoti ex alia parte Angliam invaserunt, usque ad Eboracum prædis et incendiis omnia vastantes, regemque infaustis nuntiis ad sui regni defensionem revocaverunt, et per aliam viam ipsi in Scotiam reversi sunt. A.D. 1318. The Scots ravage Yorkshire. p. 60.

Anno MºCCCºXIXº in Junio rex profectus est in Galliam, ubi Ambianis occurrit regi Philippo, a quo recepit comitatum Pontivi, quem princeps Gallorum in sua novitate propter non factum homagium occupaverat A.D. 1319. Edward does homage for Ponthieu.

Anno MºCCCºXXº oritur inter regem et barones, scilicet comites Lancastriæ et Herefordiæ, dissidium, quod origo et causa fuit interitus baronum, calamitatis regis, et regii sanguinis fere excidii. Exarsit enim odium et invidia baronum in Hugonem le Spenser. Fuerunt enim qui dixerunt eum esse alterum regem, et potius solum: regisque animum eum incantasse, non secus atque olim fecisset Petrus de Gavestone; et de regis familiaritate ita præsumpsisse, quod nonnullos nobiles frequenter a regio colloquio arceret; at cum regem ipsi de suis negotiis alloqui cuperent, eum, præoccupata regis benignitate, responsionem in se suscipere, regisque commoditatem præ se ferens, responsa dare adversa et ingrata. Talia de Hugone fateor mala, sed non adeo, quin vulgus gar- A.D. 1320. Beginning of the quarrel of the Despensers. The writer's opinion.

[1] *Birmingham*] Briningham, Ed. | [2] *spirituales*] speciales, Baker.

A.D. 1321. Attack of the barons on the younger Despenser.

rulus pejora studuit fingendo demonstrare, et malefacta deteriora reddere. Hiis et similibus, quæ ministri regii offendere[1] solent, proceres accensi et furibundi in odium filii, patris Hugonis possessiones in Wallia et Marchia occuparunt, nemora vastarunt et mobilia deprædarunt, in utriusque præterea necem patris et filii, et cujuslibet præterea amicorum, regio sanguine excepto, sub sacramento conjurarunt. Quorum præcipui fuerunt comes Herefordiæ, Rogerus de Mortimer, Mauritius de Barkley, Bartholomæus de Badelsmere, Rogerus Damori. His occulte comes Penbrochiæ consensit, et comes Lancastriæ ardenter et manifeste. Hugo furorem eorum temporis tractu mitigari arbitratus, se in tempus clam tenuit, aliquando in transmarinis partibus, quandoque in mari, ipso regis, ipsius voluntate, navigio latitavit. Igitur comitiis[2] Westmonasterii habitis, uterque Hugo, regia majestate assentiente, sed potius refragari non audente, in exilium mittitur.

Baker, p. 61.

Exile of father and son.

The queen shut out of Leeds castle.

Anno M^o^CCC^o^XX^o^I^o^ venit Isabella regina ad castrum de Leedes circa festum Michaelis, atque ibi pernoctare voluit. At vero non est permissa ingredi. Hac re regis animo offenso, ut in suum contemptum acta, convocatis vicinis ex Estsexia et Londino nonnullis, castrum jussit obsideri. Castrum tenuit Bartholomæus de Badelsmere, in quo relicta uxore et filiis, ipse cum reliquis baronibus ad res Hugonum evertendas profectus fuerat. Interim, inclusis de salute desperantibus, barones cum suis Kingston usque venerunt in vigilia Apostolorum Simonis et Judæ, rogantes per intermissos episcopos Cantuariensem et Londinensem, et comitem Penbrochiæ, quod obsidionem rex solveret, polliciti se post proximum parliamentum castrum regi in manusradituros. Rex vero, perpendens non posse diu obsessos resistere, et exasperatus eorum contumacia, baronum petitiones audire noluit. Quibus in alias partes conversis, postea non modico labore castro potitur; reliquis in eo repertis suspensis, uxorem cum filiis ad turrim Londinensem misit. In sequenti Natali Cirencestræ festum celebravit: profectus cum exercitu in Marchiam Walliæ Gloverniam reliquit a quibusdam baronibus præoccupatam rebellibus, atque Wigorniam pertransiens ad Bridgenorth iter direxit, ubi castro in tempus defenso tandem potitus, castellani partim occisi, partem fugati, et in exilium acti sunt, eorumque bona ubique confiscata. In Salopiam perveniens, utrumque de Mortuomari, ad ejus gratiam confugientes, ad turrim

p. 62.

Intercession of the barons.

The king takes Leeds.

He is at Cirencester at Christmas.

p. 63.

Capture of the Mortimers.

[1] *offendere*] ostendere, Ed. and MSS. | [2] *comitiis*] Blank in MS. Cotton.

Baker, p. 63. Londinensem misit; Mauritium vero de Barckley, et Hugonem de Audeley, sese ei submittentes, ad castrum Wallingfordiæ misit. Comes Herefordiæ, Gilbertus Talbot, Rogerus D'Amory, et omnes alii eorum adhærentes, in boream ad comitem Lancastriæ, qui eos expectavit, profecti sunt. Istis peractis, archiepiscopo præsidente in consilio Londini fuit per prælatos provinciæ Cantuariensis allegatum, quod exilium Dispensatorum fuit erroneum, et de jure revocandum. Unde directum est eos esse revocandos et restituendos.

A.D. 1321. Submission of some; flight of others.

The clergy annul the sentence against the Despensers.

Anno M°CCC°XX°I° oblatæ sunt conditiones pacis a baronibus. Verum rex, eorum pertinacia offensus, collecto exercitu circa finem Februarii in boream contendit, rebellesque adortus p. 64. apud Burton super Trentam, in fugam vertit. Deinde paulo post regio exercitu aucto copiis Northumbriæ ab Andrea de Harcklay adductis, valde animo consternati sunt barones.

A.D. 1322. The barons put to flight at Burton-on-Trent.

Ineunt igitur consilium de se submittendo regiæ clementiæ, quod quidem Thomam Lancastrensem reliquis valde exosum reddidit, ut qui colligerent Thomam, cum esset regio sanguine creatus, sibi facile posse securitatem obtinere, illis non autem; præcipue, cum is affirmaret, se non contra regem sed Hugonem arma suscepisse, regis corruptorem, ac regni pestem. Humfridum vero de Bohun comitem Herefordiæ, virum bellicosum, strenuum et providum, compulit periculi timor in sententia persistere[1] communi, tum sibi tum[2] reliquis militibus, quos non sine maximo suarum rerum detrimento, vel etiam vitæ dispendio, regi et Hugonibus reconciliari posse animadverterit. Unde voluit, pietate quadam commotus, generosus comes, vitæ periculum subiré, quam se et suos manifestæ calamitati bonorum amissionis, carceris et interitus, exponere.

Proposals of submission, propounded by Lancaster.

Self sacrifice of the earl of Hereford.

p. 65. Tandem septimo die Martii iterum congrediuntur acies apud Burrowbrugge, ubi piissimus comes Humfridus a quodam Wallo, qui sub ponte constitit, lancea per foramina pontis emissa, per inguina trajectus interiit; quo in loco milites armari non solent, quippe cum sub pedibus hostes se inventuros minime credant. Capitur in campo comes Lancastriæ, barones et baronetti,[3] commilitones ejus et milites circa nonaginta quinque, reliquis fuga servatis. Hii in exemplum aliorum graviter

Battle of Boroughbridge.

Lancaster taken.

[1] *persistere*] desistere, Ed.; continuare, Baker.

[2] *tum . . . tum*] cum . . . cum, Ed.

[3] *baronetti*] So also Baker and the MSS.

A.D 1322. Execution of the earl and his partizans.

puniuntur, sententia Andreæ de Harckeley, et justitiariorum regis. Imprimis Thomas Lancastriæ comes, cujus nobilitas, potentia et divitiarum splendor reliquos animaverat, sexto post die suspendio condemnatus est: tametsi regia clementia gravitatem pœnæ et turpitudinem præsertim consanguineo mitigavit. Capite itaque truncari jussit, et circa octodecim reliquorum in diversis Angliæ partibus suspensi et tracti sunt; quinque in exilium acti; reliqui carceris squalori mancipati, tandem pretio redimuntur. Baker, p. 65.

The elder Hugh made earl of Winchester.

Anno M°CCC°XX°II° Eboraci parliamentum post Pascha celebratur, ubi, Hugone patre comite Wintoniensi constituto, rex, collecto exercitu, ad festum Sancti Jacobi Scotiam invasit. Scoti vero, regiam potentiam veriti, cum suis omnibus ultra mare Scoticum se conferunt, regione citramarina victualibus prius evacuata, quoad poterant. Rex brevi exercitum fame pressum in Angliam reduxit. Scoti igitur, mari transmisso, nocturnis et clandestinis itineribus regem insecuti, apud forestam de Blackamore noctu ex improviso castra[1] Regis adoriuntur, in regis ipsius hospitium obsessum insultum faciunt. Rex vero, vix eorum insidias elapsus, fuga cum paucis aliis se servavit, captis ex ejus comitibus comite Richmondiæ, et domino de Siliaco, regis Franciæ nuntio, multisque aliis. Scoti deinde totam Marchiam Eboracum usque rapinis et igne devastant, Ripense oppidum incendunt, Beverlacum quadringentis libris sterlingorum redemptam indemnem relinquunt, et ad propria spoliis onusti revertuntur. Anno sequenti Junio mense captæ sunt induciæ in tredecim annos. p. 66.

Expedition to Scotland.

Escape of the king.

Ripon burned.

A.D. 1323. Truce. p. 67.

The new king of France summons Edward to do homage.

Anno M°CCC°XX°II° Philippus rex Franciæ moritur. Succedit Carolus frater, qui statim in Angliam misit Andream de Florentia, ad citandum regem, ut ad se veniret homagium præstiturus de ducatu Aquitaniæ, et aliis terris, quas a se tenuit. Et licet Hugo Despenser et Robertus Baldocke precibus et monitis nuntiorum [mentes][2] informassent satis, ut ipsi putabant, quod causam sui adventus non notificarent regi, tamen in suo recessu monuerunt ipsum, et suaserunt, ut homagium facturus se regi præsentaret. Super qua monitione Andreas, qui Carolo fuit notarius, consilio regis Angliæ hoc ignorante, fecit publicum edictum, cujus virtute rex Franciæ, contra regem facto processu, terras nonnullas de ducatu Gas-

Forfeiture declared.

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[1] *castra*] castro, Ed., MSS. | [2] *mentes*] Supplied from Baker.

Baker, p. 67. coniæ [1] et comitatum [2] Pontivi in suum emolumentum seisire curavit. Edwardo putante, sicut fuit informatus, prædictam citationem non valuisse, seisinam fecit patruus Caroli regis, Carolus de Valois, vir Anglis infestissimus, qui magno cum exercitu fingens legationem,[3] prætendens Edwardi inobedien- p. 68. tiam de homagio minime præstito, comitatum Pontivi, et totam Agenam in manus sui nepotis seisivit. Tandem ad Regulam oppidum progressus munitum invenit, duce Edmundo de Woodstocke, Edwardi germano[4] et comite Cantiæ; qui inter se colloquuti inducias faciunt dum inter reges de pace agi posset. A.D. 1323. Charles of Valois seizes Ponthieu and Agen.

Anno M°CCC°XX°III° Rogerus de Mortuomari e turri Londinensi, corruptis custodibus, evasit, et in Franciam elapsus, Carolo de Valois se adjunxit, in novum dissidium et bellum intestinum miserrimum a diabolo reservatus. Proxima Quadragesima, in parliamento Londini, facta est inquisitio contra Adamum episcopum Herefordensem per legales viros ejusdem comitatus, super eo quod prædictus Adam adhæsit quondam illis de Mortuomari regis hostibus, eosque equis et armis accom- p. 69. modatis adjuverat ad dicti regis eversionem. Nolente vero episcopo accusato respondere, ejus omnia temporalia sicut proditoris regia auctoritate confiscantur; unde inexorabile odium concipiens, episcopus in regem et amicos ejus, vir ingenio callidissimus et prudentia mundana summus, facinorosus et audax, et factiosus, ad regis degradationem et multorum nobilium ruinam iræ conceptæ venenum propinavit, resuscitando procerum odium in Hugones, jam fere post regis victoriam ad Burrowebrigge sopitum, aut certe terrore regiæ potentiæ coopertum; quod jam tandem vires resumens sese conspiciendum obtulit. Multi autem nobilium, qui sub comite Lancastriæ arma gessissent adversus regem, non alia via salutem sperantes, quam Hugonum intercessu, eorum animos et favorem terrarum et prædiorum [5] donatione coemerunt; quæ res eos omnibus valde exosos reddidit, non solum quod regi omnibus reliquis posthabitis soli illi maximi habebantur, verum quod sua ambitione et cupiditate plurimos nobiles depauperassent hiis modis. Atque videbantur pro uno tres jam esse Angliæ p. 70. reges. Sed eos præcipue odio habebat Adam Herefordensis, jam temporalibus suis privatus, et Henricus de Burwasche, et istorum amici, qui solum regiæ majestatis reverentia manus

Escape of Roger Mortimer.

A.D. 1324. The bishop of Hereford accused in parliament.

He excites the peers against the king's friends.

Increasing hatred of the Despensers.

[1] *Gasconiæ*] Glasconiæ, Ed.
[2] *comitatum*] comitatu, Ed.
[3] *fingens legationem*] fungens legatione, Baker.
[4] *germano*] fratre, Ed.
[5] *prædiorum*] prædarum, Ed.

A.D. 1324. The queen takes offence. continebant. Ad hoc ipsum reginæ ipsius animum incendebant, in majus nefas iram muliebrem rapidissimam concitantes, eo quod Hugonum consilio reginæ familia esset diminuta, et certorum redditnum præcisione et annonæ magis parca subministratione. Inde vel avaritia insatiabilis fœmina frustrata,[1] vel certe prodigalitas affectata, quorum alteri solent semper muliebres sexus indulgere, in causa fuit, quod non solum in Dispensatores, sed etiam in maritum mortale odium conceperit. Luget Francorum regis filiam, immo unicam successorem, avaro maritatam, se promissam fore reginam, sed ancillam factam esse Dispensatoribus stipendiariam. Cum fratre regis colloqui cupit, ut ei de miseriis suis conquereretur, et de vindicta in Dispensatores consuleret. Episcopus Herefordensis non cessat clam cum ea hiis de rebus conferre, de præsenti calamitate conqueri, et reginam omnibus horis et modis incitare, et ejus indignationem augere. Idipsum agit etiam Lincolniensis episcopus; uterque reginam admonet, ut captet occasionem fratrem et patruum[2] in Francia visitandi, ut eorum consilium contra Dispensatores imploret, quod si fecerit, omnia facile pro voto successura esse. Erat illis diebus inter reges, ut prædictum est, de pace agendum: ad quod conficiendum voluit rex ipse mare transire. Illud vero sibi timentes comites Wintoniæ et Gloucestriæ dissuadebant, ne interim illi in hostium manus inciderent, si vel domi manerent sine rege, vel eum comitarentur ad Francum hostem. Interim regina blandimentis regem inducit, ut ipsa fungatur hac legatione, omnia promittens se effecturam. Stipulantur episcopi duo, et aliquot procerum reliquorum, adeo ut tandem persuaso rege ea mittitur in Franciam.

Baker, p. 70. — p. 71. — p. 72.

She conspires with the disaffected bishops.

The Despensers dissuade the king from going to France.

A.D. 1325. Reception of the queen in France. Anno millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo quarto regina a fratre Franco et patruo libentissime suscepta, dum causam mariti agit. Is interim per totam Quadragesimam et æstatem in littore[3] commoratus est, ut facilius nuntios et litteras ab uxore recipere posset. Ea interim suas res agit. Consensit Francorum parliamentum, quod, si rex Edwardus filio jus suum in ducatu Aquitaniæ et comitatu Pontivi resignaret, rex Francus ei traderet in manus eorum plenam seisinam, et contentus foret homagio, quod ille sibi faceret. Hiis conclusis, Carolus rex litteras suas patentes, et alias de salvo conducto pro primogenito Angliæ ad Edwardum mittit. Super hiis habentur

p. 73.

Proposal to send the young Edward.

[1] *fœmina frustrata*] feminina concupitis frustrata, Baker.

[2] *patruum*] patrem, Ed.; corrected from Baker.

[3] *in littore*] om. MSS.

Baker, p. 73. consilia Langedone et Dovoriæ sæpius. Aliqui suadebant, ut rex in propria persona transiret; nec securum posse esse regis filium paterna ope destitutum inter Francos astutos et facinorosos, ne rex Francorum parvulum cui vellet dispari matrimonio copularet, aut sibi tutorem assignaret. Comites vero Wintoniæ et Gloucestriæ alterius erant sententiæ, eo quod cum rege transfretare timerent, vel, eo transgresso, in Anglia manere. Quibus in eorum damnum assensit episcopus Lincolniensis, ea quæ proposuerat ad finem deduci posse sperans. Præterea rex timens, ne eo absente barones in comites Dispensatores desævirent, et bellum intestinum jam sopitum resuscitarent, facile assentit illis, qui suum filium esse mittendum suadebant. Unde chartam de prædictis terris, habendis et tenendis sibi et heredibus suis regibus Anglorum, filio suo fecit; addens, quod, si patre suo superstite filius moreretur, prædicta ad patrem redirent, et præterea quasdam conditiones, quibus non liceret regi Franciæ eum maritare, nec tutori sine sua voluntate submittere. Hæc ordinatio facta[1] fuit ex consilio[2] prælatorum et nobilium aliorum regni Dovoriæ postridie Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ anno regis decimo octavo. Et die Jovis sequenti Edwardus filius navem ascendit, comitatus Gualtero[3] episcopo Exoniæ, et aliis nobilibus aliquot. Exinde circa festum Sancti Matthæi fecit homagium avunculo suo regi Franciæ, sub protestationibus factis ex utraque parte.

A.D. 1325. Opposing counsels.

p. 74. The king resigns his French provinces to his son, Sept. 9.

The son does homage.

Completis negotiis, pro quibus regina missa fuerat in Franciam, statim post festum Sancti Michaelis scripsit ad eam rex maritus, præcepitque, ut filium suum in Angliam reduceret confestim. Rescripsit ipsa quod dominus rex Franciæ frater nimia charitate foveret illos, et secum invitos[4] detineret; unde, remissa magna parte utriusque familiæ, residuum illius anni circa negotia, pro quibus ex intentione proficiscebatur, ipsa transegit. Gualterus episcopus Exoniensis non in Angliam jussus redire, communione tamen secreti consilii reginæ videns se sequestratum, sed[5] R. de Mortuomari, et alios profugos, regis domini sui inimicos, locum suum quoad reginæ familiaritatem usurpasse, clam repatriavit. Rex commotus est hac reginæ mora, filium suum detinentis extra regnum, quibusdam asserentibus, eos invitos detineri, aliis conjicientibus, eam, illicitis complexibus Rogeri de Mortuomari delinitam,[6] cum eo

Edward recalls his son, whom the queen detains.

Return of bishop Stapleton.

p. 75. The queen's intrigue.

[1] *facta*] sancta, Ed.
[2] *consilio*] consensu, MS. H.
[3] *Gualtero*] Guilielmo, MSS.
[4] *invitos*] junctos, Ed.
[5] *sed*] P. et, Ed.
[6] *delinitam*] devinctam, Ed., detinctam, V., delinctam, H.

A.D. 1325. The queen collects an army for the invasion of England.

et reliquis Anglorum profugis, quos in Francia reperit, nolle redire; aliis autem alia vane conjicientibus, episcopi Lincolniensis et Herefordiæ conscii negotii, finem expectantes, secreta animorum dissimularunt. Regina vero muliebri ira, et vindictæ cupiditate æstuans, in fine anni in Hannoniæ partes profecta est, toti mundo filium suum amabilem et formidabilem, sine consilio procerum Angliæ matrimonio copulavit Philippæ ducis Hannoniæ filiæ, tametsi inconsulto, tamen felici pulchræ prolis successu. Deinde colligit exercitum armatorum ex Hannonia et ex Germania, stipendiarios vocatos, ex dote novarum nuptiarum solvendos. Huic exercitui præerant viri militares, Johannes comitis Hannoniæ frater, Rogerus de Mortuomari secretissimus et principalis de privato consilio reginæ.

Baker, p. 75. p. 76.

A.D. 1326. September. The queen lands and is joined by the discontented earls and bishops.

Classis prospero flatu in Anglia ad portum Orwelliæ appulit die Veneris proximo ante festum Sancti Michaelis. Cui obvii comes Marescallus, et Henricus comes Leicestriæ, et cum eis baronum atque militum proterva multitudo se conjunxit; nec defuerunt prælati, qui hiis contra patriam et dominum suum se conjunxerunt; sed et illi tanti facinoris auctores, sceleratissimæ suæ disciplinæ antedicti[1] sceleris, se ad reliquos contulerunt ad diem expectatum, non quidem lanigerarum ovium, sed armigerorum luporum crudelium pastores, horum phalangis præcipue ducatum præbuere. Hi duo seniores, a quibus egressa est iniquitas Babylonica contra Susannam, sed pro Isabella,[2] hi, inquam, Baal sacerdotes, alumni Jesabellæ, id est, Lincolniæ et Herefordiæ episcopi, cumque hiis quoque Dublinensis et Eliensis,[3] cum eadem regina magnum congregaverunt exercitum: proditori facundo verba committuntur Herefordensi, qui pleno conspirantium parliamento peroravit, expediens fore regno, quod, tantæ nobilitatis ibi congregatæ consilio regendus, rex coarctaretur; regina quoque offensa inexorabilis per voluntatem suam factam de comitibus Wintoniæ et Gloucestriæ placaretur. Sed quia pro constanti fuit apud omnes, quod rex, amicitiæ cultor fidelissimus, suos amicos comites prædictos, in quorum necem fuerat regina debacchata, non sine securitate suæ comitivæ[4] dimitteret, et omnibus modis ab invidorum tyrannide tueretur; censuerunt finali præcipuorum juratorum cautione, quod manu armata regis præsentia per eos peteretur; mittuntur ab exercitu epistolæ episcopales ad suos coepi-

Proposals of the invaders.

p. 77.

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[1] *antedicti*] armis doctæ, Baker.
[2] *Isabellæ*] Jezabele, Baker.
[3] *Eliensis*] Holmensis, Ed.
[4] *suæ comitivæ*] sua comitia, Ed.

Baker, p. 77. scopos, et alios amicos, tot duces, comites, totque barones A.D. 1326. Francigenas, cum eorum copiis per regem Francorum pro tuitione juris sororis suæ mitti, quod vix eorum victui Anglia sufficeret. Consternitur pavore grex indigena sine pastore, expectans triumphum partis unius, parata se dare virtuti potiori. Præterea prosiluit mendacium ab exercitu in omnes regni plagas divulgatum, quod summus pontifex Romanus omnes Anglos absolvit a fidelitate jurata suo regi, fulminaretque sententiam excommunicationis in omnes contra reginam arma deferentes. Ad hujus mendacii confirmationem finguntur duo cardinales esse exercitui reginæ adhærentes nuntii præmissorum.

Reports of aid from the king of France and the pope.

Anno M°CCC°XX°VI°, et regis vicesimo et ultimo, bellum intestinum Anglis consuetum progreditur, quod perinde non poterat diu durare, quoniam rex et comites, quos expetivit manus proditiosa, invalidos ad resistendum se putantes, fugæ se mandant. p. 78. Rex enim per exploratores perspectum habens, quod uxori suæ tota fere regni communitas, falsis territa rumoribus, adhæsit, cum duobus comitibus, et Roberto de Baldocke, et paucis de sua secreta familia in Walliam se contulit, dimisso comite Wintoniæ ad tuitionem oppidi et castri Bristolliæ. Deinde ipse usque ad Chepstow progressus, cum comite Gloucestriæ et Roberto de Baldocke, aliisque valde paucis, se commisit navigio, intendens ad insulam de Londay [1] proficisci. Londay est insula in Sabrinæ ostio duobus miliaribus undique longa, abundans pascuis amœnis; cuniculos producit copiose, columbas, et struconas, quos vocat Alexander Necham [2] Ganymedis aves, indies [3] habet prægnantes: aquas insuper recentes de fontibus scaturientes incolis ministrat; ipsa, licet undique mari sit circumcincta, unum duntaxat aditum habet, quo vix duo viri poterint conjuncti pedites incedere: ex omni alia parte rupis horrendæ alta præminentia prohibens egressum.

Flight of the king to Wales.

He proposes to go to Lundy island.

Ad hanc insulam, ut dictum est, victualibus universaliter abundantem, tamen abundanti vino, oleo, melle, frumento, brasio, piscibus salsis, carnibus et terrestri carbone instuffatam, p. 79. regem volentem adnavigare, ventus contrarius prohibuit omnino, unde, sævas tempestates maris vix declinans, applicuit in Glamorgan, et se transtulit ad abbathiam de Nethe, ubi Wallorum, qui promittebant se secum velle mortem et vitam communicare,[4] falsæ promissioni nimium confisus latitavit. Re-

Failing to reach it, he lands in Glamorganshire.

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[1] *Londay*] Conday, Ed.
[2] *Necham*] Nechristum, Ed.
[3] *indies*] nidos, Baker.
[4] *communicare*] commutare, Ed.

A.D. 1326. The king at Neath.

gina jam potentissima sub vexillo filii, non animo malitioso sed maleducto, patrem prosequentis, jussit exercitum in regis persequutionem promovere. Baker, p. 79.

The queen at Oxford.

Perventum igitur est Oxoniam, ubi coram universitate, præsentibus regina, et parvo duce Aquitaniæ, sed et Rogero de Mortuomari, et aliis satellitibus,[1] principalis machinator tantæ cladis, Adamus Herefordensis vocatus episcopus, de adventu

Bishop Orlton's sermon.

reginæ, et causa exercitus publice prædicavit, assumens pro themate: "Caput meum doleo," quam auctoritatem ad talem duxit quæstionem, quod auferendum foret necessario caput languidum de regno, nec ullis Hippocratis vinculis alligandum salutiferis. Dein exercitum Gloverniam motum auxerunt multi Boreales reginæ servientes.

Oct. 15. Murder of the bishop of Exeter.

Hiis ita de habentibus, vulgus Londini, reginæ et Rogero de Mortuomari volens complacere, bonæ memoriæ dominum Walterum episcopum Exoniensem, decimo quinto Octobris, in medio civitatis furiose captum decapitavit, et quosdam etiam alios, ea sola causa, quod regis ministerio fideliter adhæserunt, atrociter necuere. Caput vero episcopi reginæ apud Gloverniam p. 80. suo exercitui incumbenti, ut sacrificium Deo et beneplacitum, obtulerunt.

Release of prisoners and recall of exiles.

Ingressi præterea turrim Londini omnes incarceratos liberarunt, et etiam per edictum publicum reginæ omnes incarcerati per totam Angliam dabantur libertati. Banniti quoque et fugati fuerunt revocati, ut et, prætensa generali pietate et misericordia, in novi regis coronationem populi cupiditas excandesceret. Tunc omnes facinorosi, et læsæ majestatis rei, apud reginam cunctis imperantem, summæ gratiæ sublevamen facile sunt consequuti. Tunc regii ministri per totam Angliam diffisi sunt regem advocare, aut se regis familiares nuncupare; tantus pavor gregem perterruit, rege pastore persequuto. Omnes regii ministri in turri Londinensi a Londinensibus amoti sunt, et novi constituti sub nomine domini

John of Eltham in charge of the Tower.

Johannis de Eltham, pueri novem annorum filii regis, quos custodes turris et civitatis nominaret. Fuit enim apud omnes regis adversarios cautela generalis, quod non nisi nomine alicujus filiorum suorum ullum facinus læsivum regiæ majestati ederetur, ut si forsitan justitia regalis ad libere faciendum quod vellet in regno, et posset de jure, forte aliquando resuscitata, in filios suos proprios, tanquam detrimentorum principales auctores, desæviret.

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[1] *satellitibus*] satellibusque, Ed.

Baker, p. 80. Sic confusione fas et nefas sunt collisa, ut omnes rapaces et homicidas, et sub indifferentia quoscunque facinorosos sceleris impunitos retinerent, et veniæ facilitate in sua flagitia provocarent. Sic crevit subita rapacitas impunita, et ubicunque reperiretur regius amicus, profuit sub ista confusione cuilibet facinoroso suis flagitiis adjicere[1] proditionem.

A.D. 1326. General confusion.

p. 81.

Gloucestria relicta, Bristollium, quod, ut prædictum est, occupaverat Hugo Dispensator pater, regina cum exercitu properavit, obsessura tam oppidum quam castrum. Sed loca munitissima solita reserare, desperatio compulit generosum in iratæ fœminæ misericordiam se et sua cuncta commendare.

Surrender of Bristol.

Reddebatur igitur castrum cum oppido, quod ingressa virago jussit comitem, sine quæstione seu responsione, finali supplicio torqueri. Alligatur confestim strenuissimus miles, brachiis, et tibiis in longum protensis; et in ipsius viventis conspectu viscera propria, de ventre crudeliter et nimium inhumaniter[2] extracta, ignibus traduntur; residuum quoque corporis[3] et in furca latronum suspensum.

Fate of the elder Hugh le Despenser.

p. 82. Hiis confectis ad partes marchiæ regina conversa, apud Herefordiam per mensem commorata, exercitum suum dividit, et cum ejus una parte misit Henricum comitem Lancastriæ, et dominum magistrum Rhesum ap Powel[4] clericum, natione Wallum, ad comprehendendum regem, et sibi adhærentes. Prædictus comes etiam germanus et heres sæpe nominati comitis Lancastriæ, Thomæ; et iste Rhesus secum missus, qui justitia regali in Turri Londoniensi incarceratus erat, sed per reginæ potentiam suæ libertati restitutus. Tam comes prædictus quam Rhesus habuerunt possessiones et ampla dominia juxta locum, in quo rex latitabat. Fuitque Rheso tota regio valde nota. Denique comes et clericus, non sine pecuniæ interventu, Wallis corruptis, regem in monasterio de Niethe, Hugonem Despenser filium, desertum profugæ præsidium capescentem, per exploratores Wallos invenerunt. Captis igitur rege, Hugone, et Roberto de Baldocke, et Simone de Redingis, aliis sine cura dimissis; custodiæ comitis Leicestriæ rex authoritate consilii episcopi Herefordensis commendatus, ad castrum Kenelworth adductus est, ubi per totam hyemem in

The earl of Leicester and Rees ap Howel sent to arrest the king.

The king sent to Kenilworth.

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[1] *adjicere*] edicere, Ed. MSS.

[2] *et nimium inhumaniter*] om. H. V.

[3] *corporis*] equis detractum, Baker: these words seem to be accidentally omitted in the text.

[4] *Powel*] Poroel, Ed.; Howel, Baker.

A.D. 1326. The earl of Arundel beheaded.

satis honeste mansit comitiva,[1] tractatus non aliter quam oportuit regem captivum custoditum. Regina apud Herefordiam cum magistro totius suæ militiæ, episcopo civitatis scilicet, exercitui præsidente, Edmundus comes de Arundel, Johannes Daniel, et Thoma Micheldene [2] ad instantiam Rogeri de Mortuomari, qui perfecto odio, sed non prophetico, oderat illos, fuerunt decollati. Postea comes Gloucestriæ, Hugo Despenser filius, in vinculis, oblatus oculis terribilibus indignatæ, non expectata ratiocinatione cujuscunque judicis, fuit ab eadem civitate tractus, suspensus, decollatus, et in quarterias divisus: cujus caput fuit missum apud pontem Londoniensem, et quatuor quarteriæ ad quatuor regni partes fuerunt distributæ. Simon etiam de Redingis fuit ibidem tractus et suspensus. Sed magister Robertus de Baldocke post multas contumelias carceri episcopi Herefordensis fuit mancipatus, ubi vitam nimis dolorosam usque ad proximum sequens festum Purificationis duxit. Tunc siquidem episcopus Herefordiæ, omnis hujus mali architector, fecit ipsum ad se Londinum adduci. Quo deductum Londinenses non sine consensu episcopi rapuerunt, et apud Newgate incarcerarunt, quærentes occasionem contra eum tanquam proditorem tractum, suspensum, mortuis adnumerare. Sed tamen post multas inquisitiones in ipso non invenientes maculam proditionis nec alicujus feloniæ, ita inhumaniter ipsum tractarunt, quod eodem anno cito post Pascha obiit in tormentis. Tanti sceleris, scilicet rapinæ et jugulationis clerici atque sacerdotis Dei, non improbabiliter aliquis putabitur auctor, an manifestus vel occultus, qui de medio luporum misit in ovile sui tutissimum, carcerem videlicet episcopalem: pro ove sibi et lupis tradito tutelæ, quam portendit quod ab Herefordia ipsum Londinum fecerat traduci a suo episcopatu in diocesim alienam; id est loco munitissimo in Montes Pardorum; qui insuper fingit, quod clerici sibi traditi rapinam, atque jugulationem sacerdotis, ipse potentissimus prælatus provinciæ salva dignitate archiepiscopatus debita diligentia non curavit præmunire. Credo, quod in tali casu verum est illud Quintiliani: "Torquentem vincit, quisquis occiditur." Et ideo sub silentio palliato querelam omitto, quam etiam sub altare Dei audivi per voces occisorum innocentium. Hiis scriptis et aliis non

Baker, p. 82. p. 83. p. 84.

The younger Hugh le Despenser beheaded.

The chancellor brought to London.

His death.

Suspicious conduct of the bishop of Hereford.

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[1] *mansit comitiva*] om. Ed. | [2] *Micheldene*] Micheldeure, Baker.

Baker, p. 84. paucis per reginam, episcopum Herefordensem, et Rogerum de Mortuomari, ut cuilibet eorum placuit, confectis, ipsi simul Londinum se contulerunt. Ubi cito post Epiphaniam in parliamento per ipsos convocato, in quo nullus ausus est resistere, fuit ordinatum et constitutum, quod ex parte totius regni tres episcopi, duo comites, duo abbates, quatuor barones et de quolibet comitatu Angliæ duo milites, de qualibet civitate et villa capitanea cujuslibet comitatus, et similiter de Portubus duo burgenses mitterentur ad regem, apud Kenelworth custoditum, facturi infra scripta. Johannes de Stratford episcopus Wintoniensis, Adam de Torleton episcopus Herefordiæ, et Henricus episcopus Lincolniæ, collegæ principales negotii tractandi, erant missi.[1] Præcesserunt ceteros itinerando episcopi Wintoniensis et Lincolniensis, secretius alloquentes regem, una cum custode suo comite Leicestriæ, ipsum inducturi, ut suo primogenito designaret coronam; astute satis hi tres circumvenerunt regem, promittentes ei non parciorem honorem post honoris depositionem, quam antea solebat ab omnibus habere regia celsitudo. Adjiciebant quoque, adulterantes verbum veritatis, quanti foret meriti apud Deum pro subditorum pace, quam ea sola via spondebant affuturam, regnum respuere temporale, in hoc non indubitanter cum Caipha pontifice pontifices prophetantes. Ex alia parte sibi comminabantur, quod, nisi resignaret, populus sibi abdicato homagio et fidelitate, filiis quoque suis repudiatis, alium in regem exaltarent, quam de sanguine regali. Istis et aliis importunis promissis atque minis inflexum, piissimum cor regale, non sine singultibus, lacrymis et suspiriis, monitis episcoporum condescendit, paratior pro Christo vitam finire, quam suorum filiorum exheredationem, aut regni diuturnam perturbationem, oculis viventis corporis videre, sciens quod bonus pastor animam suam poneret pro ovibus suis.

A.D. 1327. January. Parliament.

Message sent to the king.

p. 85.

Proposals for his resignation.

Threat of renunciation.

The king's self sacrifice.

p. 86. Finaliter ad castrum, ubi rex inclusus, episcopus Herefordiæ inimicos ceteros adduxit, quos in regis camera secundum suas dignitates ordine collocavit, a multis temporibus affectata, ex omnium permissione, sibi ipsi reservans. Tandem regia ma-

The envoys at Kenilworth.

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[1] *missi*] It is at this point that Baker inserts the mention of Thomas de la More; "quorum "comitivæ adhærens prædicto "episcopo Wintoniæ, Tu generosæ "miles qui hæc vidisti et in Gal- "lico scripsisti, cujus ego sum talis "qualis interpres, te dico domine "Thoma Delamoore, tua sapientia "et inclita præsentia decorasti." These words are given in MSS. H. and V.

A.D. 1327. January. The king faints.

jestas, togam nigram induta, de secretiori camera progrediens, suis servis se repræsentans, conscius negotii, pro quo venerat, præ dolore sui impos effectus, corruit expansus. Cui accurrentes comes Leicestriæ, et episcopus Wintoniensis, vix regem semivivum erexerunt; quem ad mentem et vires pristinas utcunque revocatum alloquebatur Adam Herefordensis, exponens causam adventus nuntiorum, mira impudentia non confusus regis animum attrectare, cui se putavit præ ceteris mortalibus exosum fuisse. Adjecit suis dictis ille Herefordensis, quod oporteret regem regni diadema suo primogenito resignare, aut post sui repudium vivere aut pati, quod eligerent in regem quemcunque visum ipsis aptiorem pro regni tutela. Hiis auditis, rex cum fletu et ejulatu respondit, quod multum doluit pro eo, quod populus regni taliter exasperatus foret contra ipsum, quod suam dominationem fastidiret, finaliter quoque subjunxit suo beneplacito valde convenisse, quod scilicet filius suus populo sic fuerit acceptatus, ut ipsum in regem affectaret. In castro iidem nuntii homagia et legeamenta domino Edwardo de Carnarvan nuper regi, per manus Guilelmi Trussell militis ex parte totius regni renuerunt; et Thomas Blunt miles, regalis hospitii seneschallus, fractione virgæ suum officium resignavit, et regiam familiam nuntiavit esse licentiatam. Post hoc ad parliamentum Londinum reversi, responsum regis plene, immo plenius quam factum fuit, retulerunt. Ad factam resignationem, communitas regni veterum fastidiatrix, novorum appetitrix, gratanter admittens suum primogenitum dominum Edwardum bonæ indolis undecim[1] annorum promptissime erexit, ut infra plenius dicetur, cujus pueritia cuique eo plus cessit ad votum, quomodo sub tam molli pastore sperabant gregem regni suis libitis minari.[2] Reginæ quoque Isabellæ de Carnarvan fuit talis et tanta dos assignata, quod regi filio suo et reginæ Philippæ vix remansit tertia pars regiæ coronæ. Domino vero Edwardo de Carnarvan comitis Leicestriæ deputato custodiæ, centum marcas pro mense expendendas ordinaverunt regina et Simon Herefordensis et Rogerus de Mortuomari, de fisco regali tribuendas.

Address of Orlton. — The king submits. — Renunciation of homage. — The king's answer reported to the parliament. — Provision for Edward.

Baker, p. 86. — p. 87.

Itaque gratiosus dominus Edwardus quondam rex regiæ coronæ et libertatis privationem pro amore Jesu Christi pau-

[1] *undecim*] So also Baker; quatuordecim would be true; and perhaps it was so written "iiii decim."

[2] *minari*] victurum, Ed.

Baker, p. 87. peris crucifixi patienter admittens, cum suo consanguineo comite Leicestriæ Henrico mansit, nullo egens quo reclusus et monasticus indigebat, nullum infortunium in ima depressus deplanxit, nisi quod uxor sua, quam non potuit non amare, nolebat ipsum videre, cujus amplexibus plus quam per annum vixit viduatus, et quod nec illa permisit filium suum novum regem, aut aliquem suorum liberorum sibi præsentiale solatium præbere. Quot amorosa delectamenta voce submissa, tanquam alter Orpheus concinuit, sed incassum. Ha! quoties deflevit querulus, quod tam gratiosa et prædita dotibus, tam speciosa, potuit proditionis amaricari felle. Auscultantibus quoque non siluit sub juramento, quod, ex quo primum eam vidit, nunquam aliam mulierem potuit amare. Amoris languor, in ceteris adversis patientia, comitem custodem, et omnes reliquos familiares ad tantam miserationem provocarunt, quod gloriosi militis amorem languidum uxoris suæ, corde duriori incude adamantino, non dimiserunt nuntiari. Unde non amore mota, sed furore commota ferrea virago, secreto cogitatu cœpit expavescere, ne unquam, per ecclesiam miserorum consuetam misereri, foret compulsa viro repudiato iterum impartiri thorum. Excogitavit enim quod a fortiori homines indifferentes et pietatis alumnos in sui miserationem provocaret contra suos inimicos, cum quos ipsa ministros suos ordinavit per adversitatum tolerantiam, et omnium virtutum uberem fragrantiam ad pietatem sui inclinavit.

A.D. 1327. January. Edward's grief at separation from his wife.

p. 88.

Her aversion to him.

Talibus et aliis cogitationibus angustiata, truculenta, sæva, recurrens ad consilium sui sacerdotis Baal episcopi Herefordiæ, ab ipso recepit rursum, quod certe sanguinem tetigit, quando comes Edwardo consanguineo suo compatiebatur; constituit fœmina crudelis ex ordinatione magistri sui subdoli, episcopi prædicti, quod Thomas de Gorney et Johannes Maltravers, duo milites, ipsum Edwardum, de custodia comitis Leicestriæ receptum, ducerent quo vellent: ita quod nullus sui benevolus seu indifferens persona ipsum libere adiret vel sciret, ubi diu perendinaret. Hiis duobus proditoribus nequissimis fuerat commissum auctoritate principali, ut in quamcunque regni plagam declinarent, omnis fortalitii, castri, seu villæ quamdiu ipsis placeret, et quandocunque, usum haberent, quomodolibet de regno, sub pœna confiscationis census et vitæ, prohibito contravenire hujus rei mandato. Educitur de nocte e Kenelworth inter inimicos, securus de vita plena doloris, post ad castrum de Corffe, deinde ad Bristolliam, reclusus per tempus aliquod in castro, quousque id foret quibuscunque bur-

The king's keepers are changed.

p. 89.

Instructions given to them.

A.D. 1327. After several removals the king is brought to Berkeley.

gensibus in villam notum, qui ad ipsius liberationem et abductionem in partes transmarinas quam optabat se disponebant. Quorum consilium ut primum innotuit custodibus Edwardi, sub noctis ejusdem opaco silentio ipsum de loco ipso Berkeleyam adduxerunt. Immanitate majore quam ferina Edwardum sui tortores tractavere, sed nec ab ullo videri sibi amicabili. Equitare compulerunt exiliter indutum, caput habere discoopertum, volentem dormire non permiserunt; non quos volebat, sed quos nausebat, cibos ipsi præparavere, verbo suo cuilibet contradixere, vesanum esse calumniati sunt. Et, ut breviter concludam, in omnibus ejus voluntati se contrarios exhibuere, ut frigore, ut vigiliis, et cibis intemperatis, aut fastiditis, aut saltem præ melancholia aut infirmitate correptus expiraret. Sed econtra vir in necessitate optime dispositus, fortis ad labores, et ad universos, gratia Dei patientiæ, languores, omnes versutias malignantium natura et gratia superavit: venenum, quod pluries propinaverunt suo domino ministri Belial, aut fortitudine naturali evacuavit, sicut solent viri temperatæ complexionis secundum Galenum in tertio simplicis medicinæ, aut, quod verius credo, manifestiori martyrio suum confessorem Altissimus reservavit.

Baker, p. 89. p. 90.

Illtreatment of the king.

Cruel insults done to him.

Attestamur et scribimus,[1] quæ luce clariora innotuerunt mundo, si non timor æmulorum regis devotissimi adhuc superstitis clarere prohiberet, quæ non poterint semper occultare. Tum abducitur Edwardus, ut præscriptus est, versus Berkeleyam a satrapis Sathanæ equitans stipatus; duxerunt etiam exemplar patientiæ per grangias castri Bristollii, ubi de fœno factam coronam capiti, jamdudum oleo sancto consecrato, imposuit nefarius ille de Gorney, ausus contingere Christum Dei: cui illudentes ironia nimis acerba milites dixerunt, "Fare forth, syr kynge."[2] Metuentes maligni, ne pariter directe incedentibus obviaret aliquis amicus Edwardi, et manus misericors ipsum liberatura, declinaverunt ad sinistram per mariscum ad flumen Sabrinæ terminatum. Ingeniati sunt inimici Dei, quomodo Edwardum deformarent, ne foret facile notus. Unde cæsariem et barbam radendas constituerunt. Venientes proinde in itinere ad fossam, jusserunt ipsum radendum descendere. Cui assidenti super cujusdam talpæ monticulum pelvim aqua frigida de fossa recepta attu-

p. 91.

He is shaved with ditch-water.

---

[1] Attestata scribimus, miles reverende, MSS.

[2] "Avant, sire kinge," Baker.

[3] *Ingeniati sunt*] Excogitarunt, Ed.

Baker, p. 91. lit barbitonsor. Cui et aliis asserentibus, quod aqua talis pro tunc deberet sufficere, ait Edwardus: "Velitis, nolitis, "habebimus pro barba aquas calidas," et ut promissum consequeretur veritas, cœpit profuse lacrymare. Ita mihi retulit vivens post magnam pestilentiam Guilelmus Bisschop, qui ductoribus Edwardi sodalis,[1] unde confessus et contritus pœnituit, sub spe misericordiæ divinæ. A.D. 1327. Story told by William Bishop.

Tandem advenerunt ad castrum Barkley, ubi patientiæ exercens virtutem reclusus, ut anchorita, nobilis Edwardus, ubi cum beato Job, regno spirituali nondum per alienigenas, sed per uxorem, servos et ancillas, honorum et utilitatis dominio p. 92. privatus, expectavit regnum æternum pro terreno. Uxor interim Isabella impatienter ferens, quod vita mariti, quem nimium oderat, tamdiu produceretur, conqueritur magistro suo Herefordensi, fingens sibi somnia pessima interpretatu, unde dixit se timere, ne vir, dignitati pristinæ restitutus, ipsam tanquam proditricem igni aut servituti perpetuæ damnaret. Episcopus igitur, læsæ majestatis sibi conscius, timuit hoc idem. Aliorum non minus ob eandem causam intendebatur metus, quos adversus Dominum et christum ejus diabolus confœderavit. Placuit igitur non paucis utriusque sexus magnæ dignitatis, tam ecclesiasticæ quam sæcularis, quod causa tanti metus foret cum Edwardo consopita; quem ut quisque metuebat, perire concupivit. Mittuntur igitur litteræ increpatoriæ custodibus Edwardi; calumniant fallacissime, quod remissius quam deberent ipsum custodirent, et nimis delicate confoverent. Intimatur etiam eisdem, sed semiplene, quod interitus Edwardi aut naturalis aut violenta indifferenter complaceret. Hic vigebat sophistarum fallacia accensa per episcopum, qui scripsit: "Edwardum occidere nolite timere "bonum est!" Quod illi in perversam partem interpretati p. 93. sunt. Sciens autem callidus sophista, quod sine suo inscripto consensu non audebant executores crudelis mandati eum occidere, ne sine consensu majorum de regno aliquando forent accusati, hoc fecit[2] episcopus, quia in necem Edwardi determinatus, et provide sibi ipsi forsitan accusando de consensu providit cautelose, ut eadem auctoritas sui mandati affectionem contrariam expressura, uno modo exposita et accentuata[3] animaret stultos in mortem innocentis, sed sub alio

Arrival at Berkeley. The queen's fear of a restoration. The guards are reproved for their mild treatment of the king. Orlton's ambiguous message.

[1] *sodalis*] probabilis, MSS. præfuit, Baker.

[2] *Hoc fecit*] hoc fecisse, Baker.

[3] *accentuata*] punctuata, Ed.

A.D. 1327. The guards are perplexed by uncertain orders.

sensu facinoris tanti ipsum immunem faceret putari. Quod ut fuit cogitatum, contigit. Denique Edwardi interfectores putantes proinde amicitiam Isabellæ et episcopi sophistici deceptoris erga se fuisse confirmatam, invenerunt illam et episcopum ferventes[1] exactores pignoris hominis traditi, scilicet domini Edwardi, et stipendium proditorum, scilicet mortem vilissimam pro demeritis ipsis comminantes. Unde stulti confusi quid facerent ignoraverunt, nisi quod epistolam, Isabellæ et episcopi aliorumque conspiratorum sigillis munitam, in testimonium de ipsorum consensu eis ostenderent. Epistolam episcopus non recusavit, sed suam esse alicui confitebatur, sed interpretabatur illam ad sensum innocentiæ, et fidelitate impraegnatam, sed ipsos tanquam falsos suarum litterarum expositores minis terribilibus in fugam coacturis affligere non cessavit. Ad castrum ductus Edwardus per dominum feodi Thomam Berkley fuit humaniter et benigne receptus et tractatus, sed post receptionem epistolæ, exercuerunt tortores commissam potestatem de tutela castri. Jubent protinus Thomam de Berkley nullam cum Edwardo habere familiaritatem. Qui non solum pœnitens, sed verecundus, quod sibi fuit denegatum facere quod vellet et Christiano de jure liceret, domino Edwardo finaliter et suspiriis salutato, ad alia sua loca transmigravit.

Baker, p. 93. p. 94.

The lord of Berkeley forbidden to show attention to Edward.

September. Edward is imprisoned in a pestilential chamber, over a charnel house.

Tunc incepit Edwardi consummata persecutio adusque[2] suam mortem concinnata. Primo[3] reclusum in camera tutissima per exhalationem[4] cadaverum in subsolario positorum ipsum torserunt[5] per multos dies pene usque ad suffocationem: unde fœtorem illum intolerabilem fuisse pœnam maximam quam unquam sustinuit ad fenestram una dierum carpentariis a dextra laborantibus servus Dei deplanxit. Videntes tyranni, quod adversus virum strenuissimum non posset per fœtorem mors prævalere, nocte decima kalendas Octobris, in lecto cubantem, subito præoccupatum, cum pulvinaribus magnis atque gravitate amplius quam quindecim robustorum, ipsum oppressum et suffocatum cum ferro plumbarii intense ignito trans tubam ductilem ad egestionis partes secretas applicatam membra spiritalia post intestinas combusserunt, caventes ne vulnere in regio corpore, ubi solent vulnera requiri, per aliquem justitiæ amicum reperto, sui

p. 95.

He is assassinated.

[1] *ferventes*] servientes, Ed. MSS.
[2] *adusque*] adversus, Ed. MSS.
[3] *Primo*] Post, Ed. MSS.
[4] *exhalationem*] exaltationem, Ed. MSS.
[5] *torserunt*] transferunt, Ed. MSS.

Baker, p. 96. tortores de læsione manifesta respondere, et pœnam subire forent coacti. A.D. 1327. September.

Taliter obruitur miles strenuissimus emisso clamore audientibus et intra castrum et extra, satis noto, qualis esset violentia in mortem patientis. Clamor ille expirantis multos de Berkleya, et quosdam de castro, ut ipsi asseruerunt, ad compassionem et orationes pro sancta anima migrante monebat. Sic hunc mundus odio habuit, sicut suum magistrum, scilicet Christum, prius odio habuit; primo præceptorem de regno Judeorum reprobatum, deinde discipulum regno Angliæ spoliatum recepit celsitudo regni angelorum. Proditorios ministros, scilicet Thomam de Gorney et Johannem de Maltravers, persecutio Isabellæ et episcopi Herefordensis, ut proinde viderentur manus innoxias et mentes habuisse, utlagavit, et in exilium egit. Thomas de Gorney Marciliam fugitivus clanculo post triennium cognitus, captus, et versus Angliam reductus, pœnam pro demeritis recepturus, in mari fuit decapitatus, ne forte magistros et magnos prælatos, et quamplures alios de regno sibi suum nefas monuisse, et in illud sibi assensum præbuisse accusasset. Alter vero Maltravers partibus Teuthonicorum agens pœnitentiam, diu latitavit.

The cries of the murdered king.

Punishment of the assassins.

p. 97.

Ex vetustissimo exemplari quod penes Guilielmum Bowerum et Laurentius Noelus transcripserat.

FINIS.

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Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509-1525.
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain, and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. 1873–1883.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525–1526.
Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527–1529.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1529–1530.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1531–1533.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—*continued*.—Hen. VIII.—1531–1533.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864–1882.

Vol. I.—1202–1509.
Vol. II.—1509–1519.
Vol. III.—1520–1526.
Vol. IV.—1527–1533.
Vol. V.—1534–1554.
Vol. VI., Part I.—1555–1556.
Vol. VI., Part II.—1556–1557.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I-Edw. III.; 1066–1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.-Chas. II.; 1377–1654. 1869–1873.

The "Fœdera," or "Rymer's Fœdera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fœdera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

In the Press.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. IV.—1588-1590.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. Vol. VI., Part III.—1557-1558.

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland). Vol. V.—1302-1307.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. X.—1656, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XVIII.—1641-1643.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Vol. V.—1534, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VI. —East Indies, 1625-1630.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1669, &c.

CALENDAR OF HOME OFFICE PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* RICHARD ARTHUR ROBERTS, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. IV.—1773, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. XII.—1577.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. VIII.—1535, &c.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VI.—1720, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. half-bound. *Price* 10s. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, "would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to "the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House "therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased "to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for "the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, "and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this "purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

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1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

   Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. Lives of Edward the Confessor. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. Monumenta Franciscana. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. *Edited by* Richard Howlett, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It was the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was published, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written the disputes of the school, men had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitier campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. Memorials of Henry the Seventh: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. Memorials of Henry the Fifth. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* Charles A. Cole, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici,

written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of

the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history. Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and other provinces of France acquired by Henry V. Here may be traced, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared for its final overthrow.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1154, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in

date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349: Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^{mo} FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA, WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the 1st two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton. MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219-231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. III., fols. 306-331: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ*, in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Year Books, 11–12 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle

Temple, Barrister-at-Law; *continued by* LUKE OWEN PIKE, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1883.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of attention on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Commencing with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ending with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II. and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; "but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical sikll and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting

not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. Annales Monastici. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. From MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard the First. Vol. I.:—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II.:—Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* William Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864–1879.

40. A Collection of the Chronicles and ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, by John de Wavrin. Albina to 688. (Translation

of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* William Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1883.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engleterre. *Edited by* John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French. It is supposed that Peter of Ickham was the author, but no conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ab Anno 1150 usque ad Annum 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed

the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some nformation not to be found in the greater history.

45. Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* Edward Edwards, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. Chronicon Scotorum: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from the Earliest Times to 1135; with a Supplement, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with a Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the earliest Period to the Death of Edward I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or, The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen. *Edited, with a Translation, by* James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., 1169–1192, known under the name Benedict of Peterborough. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1014 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by* the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Bekynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's ownletters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1882.

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This important and unique survey of the greater portion of England* is the oldest and most valuable record in the national archives. It was commenced about the year 1084 and finished in 1086. Its compilation was determined upon at Gloucester by William the Conqueror, in council, in order that he might know what was due to him, in the way of tax, from his subjects, and that each at the same time might know what he had to pay. It was compiled as much for their protection as for the benefit of the sovereign. The nobility and people had been grievously distressed at the time by the king bringing over large numbers of French and Bretons, and quartering them on his subjects, "each according to the measure of his land," for the purpose of resisting the invasion of Cnut, King of Denmark, which was apprehended. The commissioners appointed to make the survey were to inquire the name of each place; who held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor; the present possessor; how many hides were in the manor; how many ploughs were in demesne; how many homagers; how many villeins; how many cottars; how many serving men; how many free tenants; how many tenants in soccage; how much wood, meadow, and pasture; the number of mills and fish-ponds; what had been added or taken away from the place; what was the gross value in the time of Edward the Confessor; the present value; and how much each free man or soc-man had, and whether any advance could be made in the value. Thus could be ascertained who held the estate in the time of King Edward; who then held it; its value in the time of the late king; and its value as it stood at the formation of the survey. So minute was the survey, that the writer of the contemporary portion of the Saxon Chronicle records, with some asperity—"So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not a single hide, nor one virgate of land, nor even, it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do, an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left, that was not set down."

Domesday Survey is in two parts or volumes. The first, in folio, contains the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester and Lancaster, Cornwall, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Gloucester, Hants, Hereford, Herts, Huntingdon, Kent, Leicester and Rutland, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Salop, Somerset, Stafford, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, Wilts, Worcester, and York. The second volume, in quarto, contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

Domesday Book was printed *verbatim et literatim* during the last century, in consequence of an address of the House of Lords to King George III. in 1767. It was not, however, commenced until 1773, and was completed early in 1783. In 1860, Her Majesty's Government, with the concurrence of the Master of the Rolls, determined to apply the art of photozincography to the production of a fac-simile of Domesday Book, under the superintendence of Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey, Southampton. The fac-simile was completed in 1863.

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* For some reason left unexplained, many parts were left unsurveyed; Northumberland, Cumberland Westmoreland, and Durham, are not described in the survey; nor does Lancashire appear under its proper name; but Furness, and the northern part of Lancashire, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with a part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire. That part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and Mersey, and which at the time of the survey comprehended 688 manors, is joined to Cheshire. Part of Rutland is described in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

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